The Outlook

Vol. 62 May 20, 1899 No. 3

CONTENTS

THE WEEK:

Taxation of Franchises 141
The Idaho Riots 141
A Changed Jury System 142
The Philippines 142
The Beef Report 143
The Dreyfus Case 144
The Irish Elections 144
The Peace Conference 144
England in Egypt 145
Coast Defense 146
A Musical Convention 146
New York's Charities 147

EDITORIALS:

The Principles of the Fathers 147
The Direct Primary Law in Minnesota 150
A Victory for Catholicity 151
The Spectator 153
Cuban Industrial Relief 155

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES:

The Army Problem: The System of Promotion 156
By Lieut. J. H. Parker, U.S.A.

A Spent Protectorate 159
By the Hon. H. L. Dawes
Paul's Gospel for America 161
By Lyman Abbott
Industrial Emancipation in New Zealand 167
By Hugh H. Lusk

BOOKS AND AUTHORS:

Books of the Week 170
Books Received 175

THE RELIGIOUS WORLD:

Professor Briggs Ordained 176
St. Mark's Centennial 176
Commencement at Lancaster 176
Bishop Scarborough on Divorce and on the English Church 177
Princeton Seminary 178
Presbyterian Finances 178
The Organists' Guild 178

CORRESPONDENCE 179
NOTES AND QUERIES 180
FOR THE LITTLE PEOPLE 183
THE HOME CLUB 185

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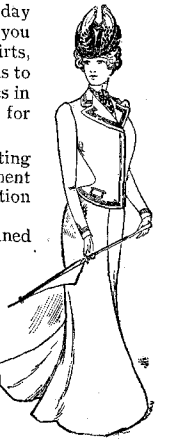

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Taxation of Franchises The corporations of New York State enjoying municipal franchises are making a desperate effort to alter Governor Roosevelt's determination to sign the Ford Bill for the taxation of such franchises as real estate. At the public hearing given by the Governor last week, ex-Senator Hill made the principal argument on behalf of the corporations, and laid the stress of his argument upon the danger of "confiscation" if municipal authorities were allowed to tax these franchises. Ex-Senator Hill apparently forgot that the only abuses ever witnessed in this country regarding the municipal assessment of corporations have been in the under-assessment of these bodies. Even where there has been no corruption, their ability to appeal to the courts, at an expense trifling compared with the value of their property, has always prevented any approach toward over-assessment. The value of a quasi-public corporation's property is more easily determined than that of a building or a private business, because the market value of the stocks and bonds is a matter of daily quotation. If the stocks and bonds of the street railway, for example, are worth in the market $10,000,000, this is plainly the value of its property. Whatever the value of its buildings, tracks, cars, etc., that amount must be deducted in determining the value of its franchise. There is no danger whatever that the value of the franchise will be confiscated. This value—though representing no investment—will simply bear the same tax as the house or stock of goods of a small merchant, whose property has been acquired without any public favor. Equally vain was ex-Senator Hill's protest that the bill would mean "double taxation." It is true that New York corporations are taxed upon their formation, but this tax is only about one-eighth of one per cent., and it does not reach existing corporations, but merely protects them against new competitors. It is true that certain corporations are taxed on their dividends, but this tax is only one and one-half mills, where ordinary property pays one and one-half cents on the dollar. It is true that they are taxed on real estate, but such taxation is not duplicated by the Ford Bill. The bill merely adopts the method by which for years Connecticut and Indiana have made corporate property pay approximately the same rate of taxation as the farms and homes. It measures their value by the value of their securities, and taxes them on that value just as other property is taxed. It is now stated that an extra session is to be called at once to amend the bill.

❀

The Cœur d'Alene Riots Papers forwarded us by subscribers in Idaho confirm the telegraphic despatches regarding the rioting at Wardner on which we commented last week. Several hundred union miners from neighboring towns in the Cœur d'Alene district—the mining region in the "panhandle" of the State—disguised in every conceivable way, captured a railroad train and descended upon Wardner, armed not only with guns but with sixty cases of dynamite. The non-union operators at Wardner fled at their approach, and the only man killed was one of the rioters who was accidentally shot by his colleagues; but the volleys fired into the mill at the mines, and the subsequent use of the dynamite to destroy nearly $200,000 worth of mining property, demonstrated the criminal character of the expedition. Governor Steunenberg, hearing that the sheriff of the county was in sympathy with

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the rioters, and being unable to call upon the State militia because of its absence in the Philippines, telegraphed to the President for troops, which arrived in two days under the command of General Merriam. This officer immediately proclaimed martial law, and, in conjunction with the State officials, set about arresting all the participants in the mob. In the town of Burke, where a large part of the mob had collected, practically all the men in the place —merchants, hotel-keepers, ministers, and even the postmaster—were put under arrest and confined in an extemporized prison. Over two hundred arrests were made in this one town, and meanwhile the mountain passes were guarded to prevent the escape of fleeing miners. Nearly four hundred suspected participants were under arrest at last account, and many were reported to be turning State's evidence. The mine-owners of the district have now been ordered by General Merriam and the State Attorney-General not to employ any members of the union responsible for the disorders. The State Attorney-General, in explaining this order, points out that this union has twice caused martial law to be proclaimed in the State—the former occasion being in 1892—and that its law-abiding members owe it to the Commonwealth to separate themselves from an organization using criminal methods. Except in the immediate vicinity of the mines—where there is an unexplained amount of sympathy with the rioters—public sentiment in Idaho heartily supports the State officials in the energetic measures they are taking to prevent a repetition of the disorders.

❀

A Changed Jury System The long-advocated change in the jury system to secure more nearly equal rights for plaintiff and defendant in civil cases is likely to be tried in Missouri. The Legislature of that State has approved a constitutional amendment permitting three-quarters of the jury to render a verdict in all civil cases, and two-thirds to render it where the court is not a court of record. The approval of this measure by the Legislature, where lawyers have so predominant an influence, promises its approval by the general public, which is less attached to old legal forms and is coming to feel keenly the injustice of permitting one vote in favor of the defendant to nullify eleven in favor of the plaintiff. In criminal cases, of course, no change is proposed, for there the plaintiff (the State) is as much interested as the defendant that the latter shall not be punished if there is doubt as to his guilt; but in civil cases the interests of plaintiff and defendant are always equal and opposite. The property involved must go to one or the other, and what the one gains the other loses. The man who is probably the rightful owner ought to be put in possession, and each party to the suit ought to have a fair chance to establish his claim. As the defendant often has the use of the property involved in order to fight the case, there is a strong argument in favor of John Locke's position that the decision of a bare majority should suffice. But the proposed requirement of three-fourths does not put the plaintiff at a great disadvantage, since a majority, when the case is at all clear, can usually bring a part of the minority to their view, and if the judge requires the jury to stay out for several hours, nine men will almost always agree to substantially what a bare majority demands. The cases of flagrant injustice are where one or two stubborn partisans hang the jury and defeat justice. Such cases cannot recur under the system proposed.

❀

The Philippines So far as is known here, no progress was made last week in negotiating peace with the Filipino leaders. A new proposition has been made by Aguinaldo through an officer under a flag of truce. This is a request for safe conduct of a Commission of Filipinos to discuss peace conditions with the American Commission. General Otis promptly agreed to admit such a delegation within his lines, and to this proposed conference present probabilities point as the most hopeful channel of negotiations. As a reply to the charges made or intimated in soldiers' letters published here that our troops have killed prisoners and looted houses, the Administration has printed General Otis's general order of March 19, in which all such offenses are strictly forbidden, and offenders are

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warned of severe and peremptory punishment. The military operations of the week include an advance by General Lawton north from Balinag; he has taken the towns of Ildefonso and San Miguel with slight loss, and has driven the insurgents toward the hill country; it is probable that General Lawton's forces are trying to flank the enemy. General MacArthur is still at San Fernando; the insurgents, with their usual indefatigable energy in this one direction, have thrown up new intrenchments north of San Fernando; if they defended their works as well as they build them, the warfare would have quite a different aspect. From the island of Mindanao news comes that insurgents there have attacked the Spanish troops at Zamboanga; it will be remembered that the Spanish troops which left Iloilo went to Zamboango, where they have been awaiting transportation to Spain. The insurgents are reported to have quick-firing guns taken from captured Spanish gunboats. Probably American vessels will be sent to the aid of the besieged Spaniards. A despatch from Hong-Kong states that the First Regiment, Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, is taking the unusual step of respectfully petitioning the division commander, Major-General MacArthur, temporarily to relieve it from duty at the front. The despatch adds: "The regiment is badly exhausted by the campaign, in which it has taken an active part, and not many more than 300 men of the organization are at present fit for duty. On Sunday last 160 men of this regiment responded to sick call." The memorial says that since February 2 the regiment has lost 225 men in killed and wounded, and 59 since the battle of Malolos. In this connection we may report that General Otis last week cabled that the transports now returning to the United States are bringing no volunteers, but that the volunteers will begin to leave for home at the end of this month; he adds, "They know the importance of their presence here at this time, and accept sacrifice which United States interests make imperative."

❀

The Beef Report It was hoped that the report of the beef Court of Inquiry would "settle things," but it does not seem to have done so. General Miles declares that it would be unsoldierly on his part to make any personal comment; but his counsel, Mr. Probasco, has pointed out that the Court refused to hear all of the evidence offered. "The members of the Court were evidently so well satisfied as to the proof of the truth of General Miles's allegations that, when they were asked to subpœna a list of 134 additional witnesses, they declined to subpœna more than ten." Newspapers throughout the country have commented severely upon this fact, some significantly adding that the Court also seems to have ignored the existence of a responsible Secretary of War. General Eagan testified that, before any purchases of beef were made, he always submitted the contractors' proposals to the Secretary for approval. If this be true, then General Alger must have known about the famous seven-million-pound purchase ("when two millions would have been amply sufficient"), and have given his permission to commit "a colossal error for which there is no palliation." Yet General Eagan is to have a six years' leave of absence at full pay, not because of this, but because of blackguardism. As to the responsibility of Secretary Alger, the strange silence of the Court does not clear him of that responsibility, nor does the Court's recommendation that "the interests of the service will be best subserved if further proceedings be not taken." Referring to this, the principal Republican daily, the New York "Tribune," voices a general sentiment in protesting that nothing is to be done to prevent a repetition of the blunders with the recital of which the report itself fairly bristles. Two instances cited are as follows: "The evidence fails to show that the character of the ration was made the subject of serious study or extensive consideration." To which the "Tribune" adds: "Perhaps the Commissary-General, following an illustrious example set him, will exclaim, 'What of it?'" A second significant comment is this: "Nor does it appear that the Surgeon-General of the army was consulted, or that his opinion was obtained at any time prior to the sailing of the expeditions in reference to the proper food supply of the troops whom it was proposed to employ in a tropical climate during the most unhealthy season of the year."

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The Dreyfus Evidence It is, of course, impossible for the great mass even of the most cultivated Frenchmen to examine critically the evidence which has appeared in the Dreyfus case as it has been made public in the Paris "Figaro;" but the mere publication of the evidence has gone far to dispel that air of mystery which has been one of the most perplexing features of this extraordinary case. So far nothing has been published which to the lay mind furnishes even an approach to positive evidence of the guilt of Dreyfus. On the contrary, the general impression produced upon the public mind in France strongly confirms the spreading conviction that Dreyfus has been the victim of a most unscrupulous and cruel intrigue. The decision of the Court will probably be announced at an early date. The action of the "Figaro" has defeated the plans of those officials who hoped to end the discussion by a decision confirming the sentence now in force. If the Court of Cassation, upon the evidence submitted to the French people by "Figaro," declares Dreyfus guilty, nothing will be settled. In order to carry the confidence, not only of the friends of France in other countries, but of France itself, the Court of Cassation must either pronounce Dreyfus innocent or must order a retrial of the case. . In any event, the attitude and spirit of the General Staff have given militarism in France a shock from which it will be long in recovering.

❀

The Irish Elections Fuller accounts of the recent elections in Ireland make more clear the sweeping character of the Nationalist victory, and the great improvement in election manners throughout the island. There appears to have been no disturbance of any account in any part of the country; it is many years since Ireland has known so orderly an election. In all the provinces the victory of the Nationalists was complete; in three of them it was sweeping. In Connaught, 81 Nationalist Councilors were elected, as against 3 Unionists; in Leinster, 219 Nationalists, as against 23 Unionists; in Munster, 147 Nationalists, as against 10 Unionists; and Ulster, the stronghold of Protestantism and of the anti-Home-Rule sentiment in Ireland, elected 97 Nationalists, as against 83 Unionists. Of the new Councilors, therefore, 544 are Nationalists and 119 Unionists. Not only was there no rioting, but the unhappy divisions which have so often defeated the hopes of Ireland hardly appeared in the conflict. The distinction between Parnellite and anti-Parnellite was almost lost, in spite of the endeavor of unwise leaders in some instances to keep it in view. The Irish people appear to have sunk their differences in consideration of what they regard as the general interests of the island. It is conceded by all the leading Unionist journals in Ireland that the new Councils are a very representative body of men, standing for the character and intelligence of the Irish people. The first meeting of the county Councils showed no sign of elation, but great sobriety and an apparent sense of responsibility. With the exception of five Councils in Ulster, every Council adopted resolutions in favor of Home Rule. In some instances Unionists were elected officers of the Councils by Nationalist majorities. So far as the indications of this first election under the new system of local Home Rule in Ireland go, they confirm the hope that the admission of the Irish people to the privileges of local government will also bring home to them a sense of their responsibilities, and will give them a new steadiness and conservatism.

❀

The Peace Conference The Congress gathered at the initiative of the Czar will meet at The Hague by the end of this week. The order and methods of the deliberations are not yet fixed upon, and it is probable that publicity will not at once be given to the proceedings; but there is a growing feeling that international arbitration will assume constantly more and more importance in the Congress. An interesting and hopeful press rumor is that Great Britain and the United States will join informally in urging a plan of arbitration; the delegates of each nation have, it is said, a matured project of this kind, and the two are, in essential points, harmonious if not identical. That the American delegates are instructed to favor the exemption of private property from seizure at sea is

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probable from the historical attitude of the United States on this subject. We wish that the United States might have been able also to present an example of voluntary refraining from the exercise of this power now authorized by international law. It is true that, after the first few weeks of the war with Spain, the seizure of merchant ships played a very small part in the history of the contest; but in the haste of opening hostilities a fine opportunity was lost of declaring to the world that naval warfare should no more be directed against private property than is land warfare. England has heretofore opposed this reform, and at the time of the Paris Treaty of 1856 held to the old doctrine with France against nearly all the other great nations. It is hoped that at last Great Britain is ready to accept the doctrine laid down by John Bright, Cobden, and many other English statesmen, and to affirm that "pillage at sea is henceforth to form no part of civilized warfare"—to quote a recent letter to the "Times" from Mr. Ismay, the great shipbuilder. If the Congress at The Hague does nothing more than promulgate this one doctrine, it will have made at least one step forward toward universal humanity.

❀

England in Egypt Viscount Cromer's annual report is of great interest to Americans in view of possible duties in the near future. As every one knows, the bastinado and forced labor, conscription and arbitrary taxes in Egypt have given place to civilization. It is not generally realized, however, that this transformation is being accomplished by fewer than one hundred British officials in Egypt and Nubia. During the past year two main objects, long sought, have been attained—namely, the reoccupation of the lost southern provinces and the beginning of the vast dam at Assuan to store the Nile for irrigation. Lord Cromer recommends the Gedarif-Kassala route rather than the direct Suakim-Berber road for a cross-country railway between the Nile and the Red Sea, his avowed reason being the greater benefit to the reacquired and agricultural provinces, though it is probable that a military and strategic purpose was not altogether absent from his mind. It is, however, to his remarks regarding commerce and the civil service that the attention of Americans may be at this time pertinently directed. As to the first, there is, and there is to be, no paternal despotism in Egypt. There will be unrestricted trade, and, with the abundant water-power soon to be provided, the cotton-mills will not be so clamorous for government aid. As to the second—and here we should heed—Lord Cromer believes in using "English heads and Egyptian hands." No Englishman need apply for any position except that in which only an Englishman and no other is indispensable. This explains the fact that there are but a hundred British officials in Egypt and Nubia. It should be noted, however, that he adds, "These hundred have been selected with the greatest care." The Englishman has a hard time to get any place, but, granted that one of the few places for an Englishman only is vacant, none but a first-class man may apply. We trust that the same rule may hold good with our own Government in dealing with every outlying possession.

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Egyptian Exploration Mr. C. N. Crewdson Secretary of the Chicago Society of Egyptian Research, announces from Karnak that two statues of the greatest importance have just been found there. One of these is in alabaster, and represents the great Theban god Ammon; the other was set up by King Usurtesen, in honor of his father, in the days of Abraham. The alabaster god is eighteen feet high, and was made from one solid block of stone. It is the largest alabaster statue in the world, and is supposed to date from the reign of Rameses II. The statue was discovered by M. Georges Legrain, one of the keepers of the Gizeh Museum at Cairo. It is of high artistic merit; not so the other statue, carved from black granite. The latter, however, has much historical significance by reason of a hieroglyphic inscription carved on a slab in the lap. While Lepsius, Mariette, and others have shown that the Karnak temples reach back to about 2100 B.C., the proof has hitherto been only that of a comparatively late inscription, placed by a king who reigned five or six centuries later. The new

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inscription, on the other hand, is a bit of contemporary evidence, if, as is believed, Usurtesen I. lived not later than 2100 B.C. M. Legrain and his several hundred laborers have been engaged at Karnak for four years during the six cooler months, and propose to remain ten years longer, in the work of excavation and restoration. It may not be as generally known to citizens of New York State as it should be that they have a local branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, fully co-ordinate with the branches in Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia. The Treasurer of the New York State Branch is Mr. Andrew Mills, President of the Dry Dock Savings Bank, 343 Bowery, New York City.

❀

Coast Defense Defects

Although a great deal has been done to put the coast defenses of the country in good condition, the report of Captain Crozier, based on his recent inspection of the forts on the North Atlantic coast, makes it clear that the work is yet far from complete. In many instances there is a great lack of the best modern guns; in other instances, where the guns are present, there is great lack of ease and skill in handling them. Captain Crozier found three batteries out of five which he inspected "unserviceable because of inability to point the mortars at a target." In many instances "neither officers nor men understood or attentively looked after the armament." He also found great defects in the drill for the service of the guns, and experienced difficulty in getting them properly cleaned for firing tests; and in many cases he found the men unable to handle the guns rapidly. As a result of his inspection he was forced to the conclusion that the artillery defense of the coast is in a very inefficient condition, due largely to lack of proper instruction and of the interest which comes from proper instruction. This, in turn, is probably due to the long neglect of coast defenses. He proposes, by way of remedy, that there shall be larger allowances for ammunition for practice purposes, better instruction, more frequent and exacting inspections, additional practice in firing, and the appointment of a Chief Inspector of Artillery, who shall be attached to the staff of the Commander of the Army. This report confirms what the experience of the army in the recent war has demonstrated, that the army needs a thorough reorganization.

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A Notable Musical Convention

It is not often that one hears of a National convention of men or of women, or of both, whose avowed intention is the consideration of a purely æsthetic purpose. The recent Biennial of the National Federation of Musical Clubs in St. Louis was a notable exception to this general rule of ordinary conventions. We are held by the peoples of the Old World to be a Nation inordinately given to money-getting, and not even ordinarily appreciative of other activities and pleasures that life may hold which make dignified the money-getting. The careful observer sees here and there, however, a sign hopeful for the future artistic growth of our country, and bearing with it sure indication of the sincere and higher purpose inspiring it. Such an indication was this meeting of the Federation of Musical Clubs. It was in no sense a local or sectional gathering; the delegates were from the extreme North, South, East, and West of the United States, and their purpose was to consider and adopt such means as might best promote the higher musical culture of this country. In this work the musical clubs of the country are frankly acknowledged by the more thoughtful musical critics of the day to be more far-reaching and powerful in their results than any other factor known. The meetings of this Biennial of the Federation lasted through five days in the first week of May. At least half of them were devoted to listening to music given by club members in chorus and in solo. These members represented clubs of all sizes, and from points as remote and differing in locality as Lincoln, Nebraska, St. Paul, Minnesota, and New York City. Other sessions were given to listening to reports of the Executive Board on work accomplished, and to considering club methods. There were two facts about this meeting of over one hundred and more delegates. The first was that there seemed to be no need of explanations or of introductions. The varying climates of Minnesota, Colorado, Florida, New York, and the conditions of life in

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these States, had nothing whatever to do with the matter in hand; an ancestry which dated back to Germany or Holland, to Great Britain or Sweden, brought no different conceptions to the descendants of the purpose they had come to consider. There was a beautiful art; its language was the one universal one; they were there to promote its highest interests; this was the one sufficient introduction. The other fact was the firm belief, denoted by the accounts given of club methods by their members, that the communities in which they lived were being benefited *as* communities by their work, and in some cases it was shown how this altruistic side of the question had reached out in practical ways and accomplished practical results.

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New York's Charities It is the habit of legislatures to treat all bills relating to charities liberally. Usually such bills have the indorsement of earnest and good people, actuated by the best of motives. To find that a legislature also exercises discrimination, that it considers carefully the arguments for and against the bills presented in behalf of charity, is cause for congratulation. The New York State Legislature has made that record. In its last session every bill presented that contained pernicious features or was opposed by the State Board of Charities was defeated. This may be attributed to the influence of the State Board of Charities and the experience gained by the re-elected members. Some institutions tried to secure special legislation to exempt them from the supervision of the State Board of Charities. In no case was this effort successful. That there has been waste and extravagance in the expenditure of public money in many institutions has been an open secret for years. Power to control this matter by careful supervision has been acquired by the State Board of Charities within a few years. Among the most important bills passed by the Legislature was one giving the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of the city of New York the right to use its discretion as to apportioning public money in the case of "every charitable, eleemosynary, correctional, or reformatory institution, wholly or partly under private control." The city Comptroller was largely instrumental in securing the passage of this bill. It is well understood that he has been opposed to the untrammeled use of city money in private or semi-private institutions, and that he will exercise his authority in supervision over all the institutions receiving public funds. The policy hereafter will be not to apportion lump sums to the institutions, but to pay them on the basis of work done for the city's legitimate protégés. This plan is both economical and sensible.

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The Principles of the Fathers

A great deal of current discussion assumes that the Declaration of Independence is a declaration in favor of self-government, and that consistency requires that a Republic initiated by such a statement of principles should recognize the right of self-government in all peoples. This supposed truism is applied to the solution of various political problems, and is supposed to necessitate woman suffrage, negro suffrage, Cuban suffrage, Filipino suffrage. Why it does not require childhood suffrage in the family is not clearly stated.

The Declaration of Independence is not an infallible epitome of political truth, and if experience proved it erroneous in any particulars there would be no reason why the Nation should not in these particulars discard it. But it so happens, as matter of fact, that this document says nothing whatever about self-government. Only one clause, and that a parenthetical one—the phrase "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"—can be interpreted to imply, even remotely, any doctrine of self-government, and this implication from this phrase is by no means a necessary one. For it is quite conceivable that a people might very gladly consent to be governed by others and relieved of all the responsibilities of governing. In fact, in all well-ordered schools the boys consent to the government; they are not kept in subjection through mere fear; nine-tenths of the women in the country apparently consent to be governed and have no desire to

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govern; and there is a not inconsiderable minority of citizens who appear very willing to relinquish into other hands all the responsibilities of government, even at the risk of incompetence or worse in the governing body.

What the Declaration of Independence affirms is that governments exist for the benefit of the governed; and this is very different from affirming that they must always be administered by the governed. "A decent respect to the opinions of mankind," says the Declaration, "requires that they [the people] should declare the causes which impel them to the separation;" and the following is the statement of the causes:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

This is perfectly explicit. It declares that men have certain inalienable rights, and it does not include the right of self-government among them; that the end of government, and, by implication, the sole end of government, is to protect these rights; that when government becomes destructive of these rights it ought to be overthrown; that the people, when they have overthrown it, have a right to establish a new government in whatever form will insure public safety and happiness—being free; and, by implication, that they may choose for that purpose a military or a civil government, an autocracy, aristocracy, oligarchy, representative democracy, or pure democracy. In fact, our fathers chose as their first form of government, not a pure democracy, but a republic in which aristocracy and representative democracy were intermingled. Negroes, Indians, and foreigners could not vote; nor native-born Americans unless they possessed some property qualification, in some of the States, or some religious qualification in others. The people were not allowed to choose their own President—he was chosen for them by a representative body; nor to make their own laws—they were made for them by another representative body. It is doubtful whether even a considerable minority would have approved the referendum or the initiative, and it is certain that practically none would have submitted judicial questions to the people at a general election or even to a mass-meeting of representative citizens, as they are submitted to the General Assembly by the constitution of the Presbyterian Church.

If we turn from the document itself and the interpretation of it afforded by the practice of the fathers to the history out of which the Declaration grew, its significance is equally clear; it was historically, not a protest against government by an aristocracy or an oligarchy, but against government for the benefit of the governors. The principles of the Declaration of Independence were partly an inheritance from the French, partly from the English, and in both countries the issue was the same: Do governments exist for the benefit of the governed, or for that of the governors? In the old Roman Empire the government existed for the benefit of the ruling class, undisguisedly and avowedly so. The provinces were conquered that they might be taxed, and the taxes were not expended in the provinces for the benefit of the people who paid them; they were sent to Rome to contribute to the luxury of the imperial oligarchy centered there. This principle of government for the benefit of the governed passed over into the Latin races, and was known in the end of the last century, from the dynasty which represented it, as Bourbonism. Its most dramatic and probably worst exhibition was in France, where, under Louis XVI., the peasantry burned their fruit-trees and their furniture for fuel and fed on grass, while the king expended $200,000 a year on his stables alone. It was against this government for the benefit of the governors, this government which consigned to misery and death unnumbered thousands of the people that it might keep in corrupting idleness a few hundreds of favored nobles, that the French revolted. The same system fought hard to get a lodgment in England. Overthrown in the death of Charles I., it came back in the coronation

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of Charles II. Overthrown in the advent of William and Mary, it bought its way back by corrupting the Parliament under George III. Trevelyan describes the condition of affairs in his history of the American Revolution, and a sentence from his description may here suffice to epitomize it: "A great peer had small cause to regret that the gates of commerce were barred to him and his, as long as he could help himself out of taxes, and help himself royally." How royally and how unscrupulously he did help himself Trevelyan makes clear. That it was the object of the English bureaucracy to use the American colonies for its own enrichment, as it had used Ireland and India, history makes equally clear. That it was against this spoliation of the governed for the benefit of the governor, not for any abstract right of self-government, that the Declaration of Independence was a protest and the American Revolution a successful revolt, is made certain by the reading of the document itself, by a study of the history which preceded and gave birth to it, and by the political institutions which were founded upon it.

There are times when self-government is palpably inconsistent with the Declaration of Independence. Self-government in the Indian Territory created a plutocracy, which is the meanest and most despicable of all forms of government. It made of the Territory a paradise for land-robbers, and a refuge for the banditti and train-wreckers who fled thither after every succeeding tragedy to escape the processes of the courts. Official reports have shown how, under self-government, spoliation, corruption, robberies, assassinations, flourished. At length, in order to protect the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, it became necessary to go into that Territory, overthrow its form of self-government, and institute a new government which would do something to secure that "safety and happiness of the people" for which, according to the Declaration of Independence, governments are instituted among men. Senator Dawes—and no man in the country knows the conditions better than he does, or has better proved by life service his devotion to the principles of our fathers—has made all this clear by his article on another page on "A Spent Protectorate." The carpet-bag governments in the South were a form of self-government; but they robbed the people, took much and gave little; and, according to the Declaration of Independence, it became "the right of the people to alter or abolish" that government, "and to institute a new government, laying its foundation in such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them seemed most likely to effect their safety and happiness." It is because the people of the North realize the lamentable failure of the first experiment that they endure with patience some grievous wrongs in the initiation of the second; but they will not be patient if in the issue it shall be clear that the new government is, like the old slaveocracy, organized for the benefit of the few and the injury of the many. In Santiago the death-rate under Spanish misrule was seven hundred a week; under General Wood's beneficent despotism it is reduced to forty or fifty a week. That under Cuban self-government it would have taken half a century to accomplish the sanitary reforms which General Wood has accomplished in half a year is certain; that they would ever have been accomplished is doubtful. Which right takes the precedence: the right to life of the six hundred and fifty killed every week before their time, or the right of the Cubans so to administer municipal government as to kill them? There is but one answer to that question.

It is the duty of the American people, if they wish to be true to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, to establish, wherever they have the authority, government for the benefit of the governed; so to administer that government as to secure to the people under it the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; wherever government has become destructive of these ends, to alter or abolish it; and, wherever they either frame a new government or administer it when it is already framed, to do so on such principles and in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect the "safety and happiness" of the people. Self-government is one means to this end: to be used when it will accomplish this end; not to be used when it is destructive thereof.

In what sense self-government is itself an end, and how good government can be

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made to conduce thereto, are questions which we shall consider in a succeeding article.

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The Direct Primary Law in Minnesota

The Legislature of Minnesota in its closing hours put upon the rolls a law the workings of which will be watched with lively interest by all who are striving to give to the conscience and better judgment of the people a means of free expression in the selection of candidates. This law provides for holding direct primaries in the county of Hennepin, in which the city of Minneapolis is located. The fact of its passage has already been noticed in our columns, but the history and scope of the measure, as described by Mr. Webster Wheelock, of the St. Paul "Pioneer Press," deserve much fuller examination. The measure was the joint product of a group of Minneapolis men, several of whom have had a practical experience in politics, and one of whom is a politician of National reputation. The law, therefore, embodies no "iridescent dreams," but is a thoroughly practical measure drawn by practical men who know the ins and outs of politics.

For three or four years there has been a demand in Minneapolis for some measure of this kind. Prior to 1895, party primaries in Minnesota were conducted without regulation by statute. But the Legislature of that year, in response to a very general demand for a remedy for certain underhanded practices that had grown up, passed a law which legalized party primaries, required ample publication of the place and time of meeting, prescribed rules for their conduct, and gave to the Convention itself a standing in law. This law has done away with a great deal of fraud and chicane. As far as it goes it is satisfactory. But it has left the power to dictate nominations in the hands of the active politicians, whose interests are not always identical with those of the general public. It has continued the convention, with the trading and log-rolling which so often result in the selection of men distasteful to the rank and file of the party. Beyond making it possible to find out where the primary is to be held, it did nothing toward giving effect to the will of the non-political voter in the choice of candidates, or to relieve him from the dilemma of voting blindly or not at all.

The first blow at the root of the trouble was struck in 1897 by Judge Hicks, of Minneapolis, whose direct primary bill was commented on in The Outlook of May 1, 1897. This measure applied the Australian ballot system to primaries, and—what was more essential—proposed to do away with the delegate convention entirely. Common primaries were to be held at which voters were to receive official ballots upon which the name of each office was to be printed, with a space opposite to be filled by the voter with the name of the person he desired nominated for that office. This measure, though warmly supported by a public-spirited minority, was killed in the house of its origin. This year, however, the Minneapolis delegation came bristling with direct primary bills. There were three separate measures, each providing a slightly different means of arriving at the same end, but all applying the Australian system. The best or most practicable features of these measures were combined, presented to the House in a substitute, and sent to the Senate by an almost unanimous vote. In the Senate the bill which had been drawn to apply to the three counties containing the cities of the first class, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth, was amended so as to apply only to Hennepin County, and in that shape it finally became a law. That the measure did not pass in its original form was due to the silent but determined opposition of politicians of the class that saw in such a system a menace to its supremacy.

The principal features of this law are: First, the application of the Australian system; second, the nomination of candidates for primaries by petition; third, common primaries at which voters of all parties assemble to choose by a plurality vote their party candidates for the final election; fourth, the holding of these primaries on the first day of registration, which is fixed at seven weeks before election day, at the regular election booths, with the regular judges and clerks acting as judges and clerks of the primary. All the safeguards thrown about the regular

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election are thrown about the primary election, down to the last detail.

To become a candidate for nomination all that is necessary is to file with the county auditor a petition and an affidavit and pay a ten-dollar fee to cover expenses. The petition must contain not less than five per cent. of the "total vote cast at the last election for the candidate of the party with which the applicant affiliates." These provisions are intended to check indiscriminate candidacy. The last day for filing notices of candidature is eleven days before the primaries. On the tenth day the county auditor is required to post sample ballots, one for each of the several parties. On primary election day the voter goes to the booth, registers just as he does now, the Minnesota law requiring fresh registration at every election, and is asked if he desires to vote at the primary. If he answers in the affirmative, he is given one of each of the party tickets fastened together, retires to the booth, marks the one he desires, presumably that of his own party, folds them all together and deposits them all together in the ballot-box. If he votes more than one ticket, that containing the largest number of offices voted for is alone counted. If the same number of names is marked on each, both are thrown out, thus preventing the nomination of weak candidates by voters of the opposite party. The vote is then counted and canvassed by the official canvassing board prescribed by the statute governing regular elections. Those persons receiving the highest number of votes of their party become the candidates of that party for the offices for which they stood, and their names are put upon the final ballot.

It will be seen that this method of procedure will do away with the convention entirely; that it leaves any coterie or organization powerless to prevent any candidate from presenting himself for nomination, and powerless to prevent his nomination if a majority of his party desires it; that it will thereby tend to encourage the candidacy of capable men too independent to truckle to the machine; and that, by making the primary intelligible and protecting it from fraud, it will encourage the attendance of those who under the prevailing system know that it is ordinarily useless to attend. Such are the more important results expected of what is known as the Wallace Law. By utilizing one of the regular registration days the law tends further to encourage primary voting, since, under the Minnesota law, as before stated, one must register to vote at the final election. By utilizing the regular election machinery, it not only saves expense and prevents confusion, but throws about the primary election the same cloak of authority that surrounds the final election.

There is little doubt that, if the law is given a fair trial in Minneapolis in the fall of 1900, its application will be extended—perhaps to the whole State, as indications of a demand for such a law are by no means confined to the three large cities. There is little doubt that, once the meaning of direct nominations is understood, the demand will be overwhelming. The passage of the Wallace Bill has made a breach in the wall of indifference and unintelligent conservatism which its application will widen, and through it the people of Minnesota, and probably those of other Northern States, will not be slow to enter into the citadel of their rights. With direct primaries, as the experience of South Carolina and Georgia has abundantly shown, the machine can only recommend, never dictate, nominations. Best of all, the responsibility of each voter for the candidates put forward by his party awakens the public spirit essential to a pure democracy.

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A Victory for Catholicity

The Outlook declared last week that, in its judgment, the Episcopal Church was on trial; it hastens to add that the Episcopal Church has successfully met the test of its catholicity imposed by the case of Professor Briggs. Bishop Potter has justified the faith of those who believed not only in his prudence and sagacity, but in his courage and clear-mindedness. He has dealt in a direct and conclusive way with a matter which would have become extremely troublesome and dangerous if it had been handled with timidity or uncertainty. The courageous way is always the safest way in the end; and Bishop Potter, who, like his father, has many times shown the instinct of statesmanship,

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has dissipated by a single courageous act the cloud of trouble that seemed to be arising over the question of the consecration of Professor Briggs. In a letter which has been made public, Bishop Potter assumes full responsibility for his action in the ordination of Professor Briggs, and says that the outcry against the latter is to be deplored because it betrays "such a lamentable ignorance of the progress of sound learning and the judgment of the best Christian scholars. . . . The author of the 'Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture' has simply stated conclusions which the best learning and the most devout minds have accepted before him." And, with his usual skill in bringing to his support aid from diverse quarters, Bishop Potter parries the prediction that Professor Briggs's advancement to the higher ministry will precipitate departures to the Church of Rome, by saying that Professor Briggs holds letters from eminent Roman Catholic scholars expressing appreciation of his contributions to the study of the Bible.

The Bishop declares that he does not accept all Professor Briggs's conclusions; neither does The Outlook; nor does the Episcopal Church accept them by receiving Professor Briggs among its presbyters. What the Episcopal Church does is to declare that there is room enough within its borders for a Christian scholar to search the Scriptures diligently and fearlessly; it affirms that it does not fear such investigation, but welcomes it. There has been no better statement of this position than that which appeared in the "Churchman" of last week, in an editorial which is a model of frankness, moderation, and courage:

> There is room for the exercise of patience while the field of scholarship is left open to the widest investigations. The Church takes the position that it is better to search after Truth than to patronize her. There is no desire to conceal or disguise any facts that may be supported to count against her. The Catholic faith rests on such solid foundations that it is not left to man to contribute much in the way of verbal defense, nor can he take anything away from it by allowing Christian scholarship a vast amount of liberty. The absolute fundamentals of revealed religion can never be upset by the result of studies pursued in such a spirit. If any contradiction appears between the two, it is certain that the contradiction is of man's own making. We are not disturbed; we are not expecting that the faith is going to be shattered. We steadily cling to revealed truth, and we as steadily refuse to believe that any fresh discoveries of scholarship can have the significance or the importance that are attributed to them by those who are more timorous in their attitude toward them.

The Church has nothing to fear except fear. It has never been forced into a weak position by its enemies, but it has sometimes been forced into such a position by its own cowardice. It is not many years since a great many religious people were denouncing the doctrine of development as atheistical, and declaring that no Christian could hold it. We have now lived to see in a very brief space of time the doctrine of development wheeling into line as one of the great evidences of the validity and reality of the spiritual nature, and furnishing what is likely to be the most magnificent and convincing evidence of design which men have ever discovered. Christianity never had anything to fear from science; it had only its own lack of courage to fear. The Church can well afford to allow Professor Briggs and men of his type of mind to be led by their own enthusiasm into positions which must afterwards be deserted, and to make statements which must later be modified. It can afford to do this because no science or knowledge is ever advanced without the promulgation of some error and the revelation of intellectual indiscretion and lack of balance. What it cannot afford to do is to lock its gates against research, and to compel the critical study of the Bible, of which it is in a sense the chosen custodian, to be carried on outside its own fold.

The admission of Professor Briggs to the higher ministry of the Episcopal Church is to be welcomed as registering another advance of catholicity. Archbishop Whately once spoke of the singular attraction of the word catholic for narrow-minded men; Bishop Potter has helped to bring back the real significance of the word. It is the glory of the Episcopal Church that it stands for comprehension; not as a compromise, but as a principle. That is to say, it makes room for the extreme sacramentarian at one end and the extreme Low Churchman at the other end, not as a matter of policy and because it cannot determine finally the differences between the two without disrup-

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tion, but because it believes that it is the characteristic of a Church, as opposed to a sect, to contain men who, while holding to the same fundamental facts, differ most widely in philosophical interpretation of those facts. A Church which is large enough to hold Canon Scott-Holland and Canon Gore on the one side, and Dr. Cheney and Dr. Driver on the other, has some right to call itself a Church; and a Church in America which makes room for Dr. Christian and Dr. Rainsford, for Dr. Ritchie and Professor Briggs, has a right to call itself a Church as contrasted with a sect. The opposition to Professor Briggs did not come from influential sources; but it might easily have become vexatious and perilous to the peace and breadth of the Church if Bishop Potter had allowed himself to be perplexed and disturbed by it. His clear-sighted action is a reassertion of the fact that the Episcopal Church does not fear investigation, that it does not tie itself to any philosophical interpretation of the Bible, and that it is a Church and not a sect. Sectarians of both wings will protest, but every affirmation of the true catholic principle makes it clearer to thinking men, adds to its authority, and hastens its triumph.

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The Spectator

Among the lighter phases of life in New York, the Spectator finds none more interesting than its restaurants and their ways. To the dweller in a quiet village the mere mention of such an experience as that of the Spectator, only yesterday, opens a most fascinating vista of scenes and contrasts. Yet it was quite in the ordinary course of many a New Yorker that he breakfasted in his own rooms on coffee made over a gas-stove, and fruit and rolls that he first stepped around the corner to buy fresh; took lunch in a little dairy near Wall Street; dined with his family at a thoroughly German place east of the Bowery; and had a midnight supper at Delmonico's. Within sight of the Spectator's window is a restaurant where a cup of coffee costs twenty-five cents; two short blocks away a beverage of the same name is—or was a little while ago—offered for two cents. On the next corner you must pay $1.50 (and twenty-five cents to the waiter) for a regular dinner. In front of that glittering dining-hall strolls a man carrying a sign telling you that in the next street a "table d'hôte" is spread at fifteen cents. "You pays your money and you takes your choice."

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Diversity in price and elegance, however is only one feature of New York's restaurants. Another classification may be made racially. Real American eating-houses, where the food tastes "as it used to do," are rare. Irish-American substitutes are too numerous, and are mentioned only as a warning, although some of them are big and pretentious, with an orchestra hung to the ceiling in a sort of a cake-box, and what not? Next in number, no doubt, come the German (and Austrian) ones, rejoicing at least in good beer; then follow French, Italian, Jewish (*kosher*), Russian and Polish Scandinavian, Mexican-Spanish, Chinese, Greek, and Syrian. Imitations of the British chop-house flourish only in the theater district, with the exception of one or two far down town.

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Successful restaurants acquire and live by an individuality which may continue a surprising length of time. The Spectator has known for more than twenty years a little place in the shopping district which is the delight of old maids of both sexes; and another that for thirty years or more has subsisted mainly on its reputation for puddings—as well it might, for it was possible to get the same one under five different names! The expert knows just where to go to get the sort of meal his fancy craves at the moment—here for a New England "boiled dinner," there for lobsters and sea-food, another place for dainties in European style. Better than that, he knows whether or not he will meet the sort of company he likes. A successful manager seeks and keeps precisely the character of customers he selects, as is well exemplified in a certain two dairy restaurants next door to each other on a prominent street. No essential outward difference marks them apart, yet in one may be found every day at noon a crowd of the best men and women of the neighborhood—preachers, teachers, staff-members of two great libraries near

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by, superintendents of stores, and the like. Next door go porters and wagon-drivers, keeping their hats on while they eat, because the proprietors are willing. The other manager provides hat-hooks, and expects them to be used. His restaurant is a family affair (but so is the other). He is there himself, well fed and jolly; his good wife bustles about, equally well fed and jolly; his three daughters wait upon their customers in a frankly friendly fashion that is never abused. They do not open their doors at night or on Sunday, are stanch Republicans in a Tammany neighborhood, active in church work and charities—the type of kindly, honest, commonplace, American good citizens.

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If the Spectator were writing a systematic treatise, he would have much to say of the palatial dining-rooms on Fifth Avenue, where every day "small dinners" and "little suppers" are eaten by Crœsus and his friend at a cost that would board an ordinary family for a week. This is all well enough, but it is really commonplace. One striking thing about these quaint little eating-places is the suddenness with which they come and go. Time and again has the Spectator rejoiced in a "find," only to have it slip from his grasp like a fish off a hook. Many a *bon vivant*, not only in New York but elsewhere, will sigh with the writer in memory of that gay little Parisian cellar that used to welcome us in Bleecker Street. How the eyes of some hero-worshiping ladies' club in Michigan or Kansas would have stared could their owners have passed any of many evenings there, lit by the presence of a dozen men of national reputation, with the copper saucepans gleaming through the kitchen doorway, and—but the picture is too big for this canvas! Like so many other good things, it was long ago swept away by the "march of improvement."

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But the strangest story of disappearance was this one. The Spectator, always on the lookout for novelties in this line, one evening, in an undecided frame of mind as to dinner, caught sight of a funny little sign in the lower part of Third Avenue, announcing that "upstairs" was a "French, Italian, and Spanish Dinner with Wine, 50 cents." He climbed a narrow stairway and made his way through an anteroom, evidently utilized as pantry and storeroom, with a kitchen in view at one side, to a larger and neater front room, where eight or ten little tables were set out. Most of these were occupied by dark-skinned, well-dressed young men, eating, smoking cigarettes, and talking loudly in Spanish. This was just before the war. A Cuban flag hung between the front windows, and on the mantel rested a spirited little oil picture of Maceo holding the lone-star flag, whose folds fell most gracefully about his erect figure in its white uniform; it was signed, as a glance discovered, by a somewhat famous West Indian portrait-painter. Instant silence fell, and, rather timidly, a rotund little man in white cap and apron, with a small brown maid at his elbow, came to inquire as to our comfort and wishes. Little by little the talk was resumed, but its tone of eagerness was gone, and the Spectator remembered just enough Spanish to understand that it was mere gossip. That was the first of several visits, and by and by the Spectator and the friend with him seemed to be accepted by the company, which was about the same every evening, and which greeted us with friendly politeness.

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What capital little dinners they were, too!—a queer Americanized version of the South, always with condiments, strange hot sauces on the meats, plentiful spaghetti, and the most delicious frijoles. Papa served us smilingly, chatting the while in guttural French; and Maria was always flitting about like some plump little sparrow. Occasionally two of the young fellows brought their guitars, and we sat over our coffee and cognac and cigars and listened to their strumming of melodies we never heard before; and once some girls appeared from somewhere and an impromptu dance was tried, with much laughter, in the storeroom and tiny hall. There was always eager talk over the newspaper reports about Cuba, but it was evident that they also had private intelligence. It needed no foolish questions to understand that this was a Cuban gathering-place, perhaps a part of the Junta itself. One evening, as spring

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was coming on, a dozen or so gathered around a table and began reading and discussing joyously a document which was printed in white letters on black tissue-paper, and had been folded so closely that it might have been borne by a carrier-pigeon. It was evidently secret and pleasing intelligence. The next evening only a few of the handsome young fellows were there; nor did they appear again; and a week later the filibustering steamer Bermuda made its most memorable voyage. The Spectator wondered whether he knew the faces of some of its company! A few days afterward we went there at the usual hour, only to find ourselves invading the home of an Irishwoman who was justly amazed at our bold entrance into her apartments. She had no idea where the restaurant-keeper had gone—did not even know that such a man had been the previous occupant of her floor. *Sic transit! Viva la Cuba libre!*

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Cuban Industrial Relief

A good start has been made, not only in the way of raising funds, but in hastening their direct application to the needs of the Cubans who must have work that they may eat. Mr. Howard, the Manager of the Fund, sails for Cuba in a few days, and the agent of the Fund now in Cuba is already putting into execution plans for the extension of the work. Mr. Howard writes us that, in recognition of the help of The Outlook's readers, he proposes to name the very first farm established "Outlook Farm Number One." Tools, seeds, and other supplies have already been purchased. We need hardly point out to our readers that the opportunity is practically unlimited, and that the amount of good accomplished will be entirely dependent upon the amount of money at the disposal of the officers of the Fund. We hope to see The Outlook's readers' contribution double and redouble quickly. We may add that the list below does not fully represent the contributions of our readers, for it is within our knowledge that several donations originating in The Outlook's appeals have been sent in through other channels.

At a recent meeting of the ladies of the Red Cross Society of Pittsburg, Pa., the Treasurer was instructed to send to the Cuban Industrial Relief Fund eight hundred dollars to be used for the relief of the widows and orphans in Cuba. This contribution, we are told, is due largely to The Outlook, as it resulted from a reading of Mr. Howard's article in The Outlook to a meeting of these ladies.

A contribution of peculiar interest—one that should stimulate many others—is that of fifty dollars lately received from the Rev. Walter Marvine, Post Chaplain at Fort Huachuca, Arizona. He writes: "This contribution comes principally from enlisted men of the Twenty-fifth Infantry and Ninth Cavalry, U.S.A., who have already imperiled their lives for Cuban freedom, many of them still suffering from the effects of that campaign. And now, mindful of what has been done for them in the South—for these are colored regiments—they send their money to lift the Cubans to a nobler liberty." These are the colored soldiers who went up San Juan Hill with the Rough Riders. They know Cuba's needs. Their gift is an honor to them, and a clear recognition of the soundness of the methods of the Cuban Industrial Relief Fund.

CUBAN INDUSTRIAL RELIEF FUND

(Make checks and money-orders payable to The Outlook.)

Previously acknowledged	$999 90
E. M. B., Westfield, Mass.	10 00
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Total	$1,441 40

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The Army Problem: The System of Lineal Promotion

By Lieutenant John H. Parker, U.S.A.

THE only form of colonial government developed by the United States up to the present time is the military government. This form, or some analogous form, seems to be the only practicable one at present, and will probably be the only one practicable for some time to come. It possesses some very desirable advantages over civil administration. It is more expeditious; the executive force can be applied with less circumlocution; opposition can be crushed, without political complications, as soon as it is manifested. On the other hand, military government is liable to some abuses which are not usually found in a civil administration. In the very nature of things it is arbitrary. It reflects to a very great degree the personal characteristics of the Commander, who is not hampered by the observation of personal liberty rights, and who gives a tone to his subordinates which may be exceedingly disagreeable to persons subjected to his jurisdiction. Military etiquette is necessarily curt, and military methods do not admit of discussions and delays. Any condition which tends to demoralize the integrity of military administrators is one which may work serious injury in the foreign possessions of the United States. It is equally true that any such condition is sure to react on the military service in an undesirable manner at home and abroad, regardless of any consideration of colonial interests.

The problems that must be faced by military administrators of colonial governments are not less important nor exacting than those before the municipal authorities of our home country. Their almost autocratic power will be wielded for the sole good of the subject if they be honest and capable, but may easily be perverted to selfish ends. Fortunes are made and unmade daily by a single stroke of the official pen, and where such responsibilities are lodged opportunities for peculation are sure to be abundant. The temptation to prostitute the powers thus lodged in their hands is far greater than any that assails officers quietly stationed at home in the discharge of merely routine duties. A much higher integrity is required to hold a man up to strict honesty under such circumstances. Under constant temptation, where simple honesty brings no reward except the assaults of disappointed enemies, the moral fiber of a man is apt to deteriorate, until he will look with a tolerant eye on questionable practices which under ordinary circumstances he would at once denounce as dishonest. When wealth, reputation, and success are almost sure to follow the propitiation of corrupt and powerful local influences, and when absolutely no reward except the consciousness of duty done awaits a faithful and honest administration, a military governor may almost be pardoned if he yields to that ambitious desire for wealth and distinction which actuates successful men in every profession, and permits his administration to deviate from the strict path of rectitude to take full advantage of the numerous opportunities for personal and pecuniary aggrandizement which are constantly offered to him. A very high degree of integrity is required for such service to make it honest and efficient. The satisfactory performance of dangerous, exacting, or arduous duties should find prompt and substantial recognition in the form of increased rank and pay. Merited promotion is the object of legitimate ambition on the part of every capable officer, and is the fitting, proper reward for honorable or distinguished service.

The system of promotion in vogue in the United States army is not adapted to this purpose. All promotion in the army, except to the grade of General Officer, to the lower grades in the various Departments, and in the Volunteer service, is strictly lineal. Broadly stated, promotion under the present system is entirely a question of longevity. Temporary promotion in the Volunteers, which may or

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may not be based on any desirable characteristic, attribute, or service, is not herein considered. The holding of an advanced commission in the Volunteer service for a few brief months may be an object of legitimate ambition, but cannot be considered, in any fitting or proper sense, as a reward for peculiarly excellent or meritorious service. The regular officer so promoted returns in a short time to a subordinate position in the regular service, in daily contact with and under the immediate orders of men who have not received a similar recognition. The military profession is no more exempt from jealousy and rivalry than any other, nor does the brief exercise of rank and command conduce to a suitable temper or disposition in a subordinate officer who has left these responsibilities and opportunities behind. It is requiring too much of human nature to expect that a man who has been thus specially promoted will not be the object of jealousy and envy among his associates in the regular service of similar grades, or that he will return to humbler duties, in a lower capacity, with that spirit of contentment and submission which should characterize a loyal subordinate. The promotion of officers to high volunteer grades, as, for example, the promotion of a Lieutenant of regulars to be a Colonel of volunteers, is a thing of very doubtful utility; because such promotions have a reflex bearing on the army that is far from being conducive to the best interests of the regular service.

Lineal promotion is supposed to have one great advantage. It is alleged that this system eliminates favoritism, and the use of political or corrupt influences to secure individual promotion. If this contention were true, it might well be maintained that the advantages of the system would so far counterbalance its defects as to make it worthy of continuance. But it is not true that lineal promotion produces this result. Those who have at their command the political or other influence which would secure their individual promotion under any other system, have the same influences at their command to secure special promotion in other directions; and as long as promotion into any department of the service can be made to depend, however remotely, on the influence of any person, just so long will these favorites of fortune have at their command, and make use of, influence for the purpose of securing their individual advancement. The actual effect of the present system, therefore, is not to secure that absolute equality for which it is ostensibly designed.

What it really does is to minimize the consideration of special fitness, distinguished service, tried integrity, or approved bravery, as a basis for special promotion; because these qualities are not those which secure the aid of political or other influences, and almost the whole field of special promotion is occupied by those who have such influences at their command.

When the matter is considered with an eye single to the best interests of the military service, it takes on an aspect even worse. If the foregoing propositions were not true, and if distinguished service in battle, or special qualities exhibited in line duty, should be made the basis of special promotion into departments outside the line, the condition would be even worse. The qualities which are thus supposed to be the basis for promotion into the staff departments are those the exhibition of which should bring reward in the shape of greater responsibilities in the field where the original distinction was achieved; that is, in the line of the army. If we suppose that the exhibition of superior fitness for line duty should be made a basis for promotion into staff departments, we advance a proposition that is fraught with all manner of evils, and with the worst possible consequences to the service. This idea involves taking away from his proper field of activity in the line every officer who has shown special fitness for that kind of duty, and placing such officers in fields of labor which require different, often antithetic, characteristics. An ordinary acquaintance with human nature justifies this proposition: the possession of fighting attributes should ordinarily be held as an indication that officers of such characteristics are by nature not fitted for clerical or similar staff duties. Basing promotions into staff departments upon such qualities would, therefore, inevitably result in a bad performance of staff duties, and in stripping the line of its best officers. This proposition is even worse than to appoint political parasites or personal

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favorites in the staff departments. The latter method, while necessarily impairing the efficiency of the staff, still leaves the line in an effective condition; the former destroys the efficiency of both line and staff, without suitably or adequately rewarding those who have deserved special promotion.

Yet the conditions which have been set forth as inevitably inimical to both line and staff are those which actually obtain in the service by law and by custom at the present time. The special promotion of line officers, in the line, for distinguished service, is absolutely prohibited by law. No line officer below the grade of Major can hope, by any brilliant achievement whatever, no matter what the degree of his fitness or what the character of his service, to receive any special promotion in the line of the army. He may receive some transient, temporary recognition, by promotion to a volunteer commission of a higher grade; if so, it will entail all the conditions and disadvantages which have been set forth above. At its best, such recognition is only temporary; at its worst, it may be a source of vexation and annoyance to its recipient during all the remainder of his military career. The law of seniority applies with rigid force to the line, binds the President equally with the officers of the army, and can be changed only by legislation.

At the same time that this condition obtains in the line, it is equally true that no officer can hope to receive recognition by promotion to a higher grade in a staff department, or even by promotion to a higher volunteer commission, without the aid of strong personal, political, or other influence. We have thus all the conditions which have been set forth as bad in the foregoing discussion, and must enter upon the administration of colonial affairs, as well as the expanded condition of the military forces, handicapped in the beginning by the knowledge that every inducement is thrown before our military officers to practice advantageous dishonesty, while no possible advancement can accrue to them by maintaining their integrity or by the exhibition of superior qualities. With any ordinary class of men it would not be hard to predict the result; and even the magnificent morale of the army may be impaired, unless these conditions be changed.

It has been said, as an argument against promotion by selection, that no system can be devised on that basis which will be free from favoritism. The reply is obvious. If this is true, then the lineal system should be carried to its logical conclusion. All officers should be in one line of promotion, and the theory of selection should be wholly abandoned. The staff would then be provided for by temporary details from the line. Yet the theory of selection, based on merit, on which all officers in the Engineers, Ordnance, and Signal Corps are obtained, gave the best results, in the last war, and these departments came in for none but favorable criticism. If the theory of promotions based on meritorious service is correct, then some means should be provided by law whereby officers can be promoted for specially meritorious service.

It is not true that no satisfactory system, based on selection for merit, can be devised. It is true that no attempt has been made to do so, and that it is not to the interest of persons with influence at their command to have such a system adopted. Perhaps the two facts may have some relation to each other, and to the system that is at present in operation.

Satisfactory results have been obtained by the civil service, based on the merit system; they can be had in the army by some analogous system just as well. Means have been found to make judicious special promotions in the navy, based on merit and distinguished service; why not also in the army? Men who by special effort and study make themselves fit for higher duties, or who win it fairly on the battle-field, should be promoted; those who dissipate their energies by frivolous pursuits should be left behind. The relative values of officers in the service are not irrevocably fixed by the dates of their commissions; honest, energetic, ambitious men should be encouraged to hope for the highest rewards.

The fact is that no effort has been made by the politicians to devise such a system in the army. The present system is wrong in principle, and is destructive of professional ambition. The greatest benefits from it accrue to two classes—drones, and men with strong enough backing to make them independent of any system. Those who will most earnestly oppose a system

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based on merit are those who have personal interest at stake, or those who fear to be measured alongside all comers; it would be well for the service if all such were in civil life. In the reorganization of the army, which has been so much discussed in the last six months, and was so completely neglected by the last Congress, no problem can be presented which will have a more important bearing on the future development of the service than that of designing a rational and sensible scheme of promotion, whereby meritorious service must be rewarded, and all other influences eliminated. This is one of the most important of the problems that would demand the attention of such a Commission of Experts as has been suggested, and is well worthy of consideration by the best talent such a Commission might contain.

A Spent Protectorate

By the Hon. Henry L. Dawes

THE Philippine problem has, for the twelvemonth it has been with us, been confronted with solutions almost without number, and of such diversity of character that discussion only seems to mystify, with little prospect of anything like conclusion in the public mind. No good can come from adding to the number, and only from considering some of those already on hand. There has been a wide field over which discussion has been playing backwards and forwards between turning the Philippines back to Spain on the one hand, and asserting supreme authority over them on the other. But the exchange of ratifications has eliminated much of this from debate by fixing, beyond the undoing, their present status, whether wisely or not, as a political possession of the United States, over which no other existing nation can or does claim to assert the least authority. There now seems to be but one question to decide. That question is none other than what shall be done with territory over which the same flag is floating that rises over the dome of the Capitol. It matters not, in the decision of this question, whether we have acquired title to these islands by conquest or by purchase. We hold all the title by which they were ever held by any nation on earth, and that three hundred years old, and the grantor is content. Nevertheless, conditions, not of title but of environment, make the decision of this question one of the gravest importance. None since the Civil War so touches the future of our country.

The proposition most favored by those who demand of the President an abandonment of his present attitude towards them, without waiting for Congress to exercise its constitutional power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory," is a Protectorate over these islands by the United States, under which we "shall tender an official assurance that we will encourage and assist in the organization of such a government in the islands as the people thereof shall prefer;" and when that is done "in a stable manner," they "shall be independent, and all our forces shall be withdrawn." Leaving for some future occasion any comment upon the unheard-of pledge to encourage and assist these semi-barbarians to frame whatever government they prefer for their people, regardless of its character, let us consider for a moment the nature of the protectorate itself under which it is proposed to carry out that pledge. In the first place, a protectorate must, in the nature of the case, be a supreme authority, else it does not protect. Anything less than a power to direct, to restrain what is wrong, and to enforce whatever is necessary to the end in view, sinks at once to a mere advisory function or missionary influence, good in its place, but impotent, equally to promulgate and maintain that which makes for good and to punish and repress that which makes for evil. A subordinate protectorate is a solecism in terms and an absurdity. Nor can that authority be shared with another and succeed. The tripartite Samoan protectorate has proved but a co-operative quarrel, and has gone to pieces before our eyes.

We have had under our eyes one of these protectorates in full operation for the last

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seventy years, and no object-lesson can be more instructive. We would do well, before undertaking another, to inquire into results where all the conditions have been the most favorable and the promises of success the most flattering. The Five Civilized Tribes, as they are called, were colonized by our Government to the Indian Territory in 1832. They were there isolated from the rest of the world, made owners of the soil, and clothed with the powers of self-government. Over them all this government extended a protectorate pledged to protect them from all outside encroachment or interference, and to aid and encourage them in building up stable governments of their own under the daylight of our own example. We conveyed to their respective tribes their land to hold in trust for all their people, share and share alike. They were clothed with all the powers of self-government, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. All these powers they assumed, and were permitted to exercise, as if they were one among the nations of the earth, claiming all the while, even down to the present day, the title of nation. The purpose had in view by our Government in erecting this body politic under its own protectorate was substantially the same as that proposed for the Philippines by the "League" which assumes to act as the organ and speak for the opposition to the present method of dealing with those islands. It was, as this League proposes, not to control, but "to encourage and assist them" in the organization of such a government as their people should "prefer," in the full belief, just as is now entertained by advocates of another protectorate, that, under the influence of our example and advice, they were sure to prefer and establish free institutions like our own, so administered as to secure "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" to all their people. Under such a protectorate have the Five Civilized Tribes lived for nearly three-quarters of a century. And at no time during all that period has this Government failed to render all possible assistance and encouragement promotive of this end. Much more has it done beyond any obligation of the treaties which brought into being those relations of our Government to these people. Millions of dollars have been by us expended in that Territory for the benefit of those people, which, properly directed, would have developed free institutions as healthy as those by which they were surrounded.

Now, what has been the result of seventy-five years of this experiment? What progress has been made in all these years towards the establishment of a government in fact stable and free, measured by the standard constantly before their eyes? It would be difficult to point out in what respect they have advanced at all towards that end. There is much on paper, much in form, but anything like our Government is as far off as ever. There has, instead, arisen such a condition of affairs—the President might well call it "insufferable"—that our Government has for the last five years been engaged in an endeavor to undo what this protectorate has achieved. There is no need to recite facts here to substantiate this statement. The reports of Congressional Committees sent among them to inquire, and of Commissions appointed to consider and prescribe on the ground, as do physicians at the bedside of a sick patient, are too full of the evidence, not only of the lamentable failure of the undertaking, but of the pressing need of heroic treatment, to admit of doubt.

It only remains to inquire why, under such favorable auspices, with such material, and on such a grand field, there has been so complete a failure. The answer is plain enough, if we will but trace effect back to cause. The fatal vice in the undertaking was just what is demanded to be repeated with the Philippines: throw off all control over them and encourage and assist them in doing just what they may prefer in governing their people. Instead of restraining evil instincts brought with them into this new territory, instead of directing and enforcing what ought to be done, and forbidding and punishing what ought not to be done, we let them drift on the current of their own passions and instincts, and set up such institutions as they preferred, sure as they were to be patterned after those left behind, in administration if not in form. It was just as easy for this Government to have built up a grand State in the Indian Territory as it was in Ohio. We had the same power over the future of each. But in the one we prescribed

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and commanded, while in the other we advised and then permitted. The contrast in results need surprise no one.

Let us not repeat this mistake. Sovereignty over the Philippines has been conferred upon this Nation, and, with that in hand, our obligation to their people will not be discharged by mere plaintive entreaties, however loudly or universally preached.

Paul's Gospel for America[1]

By Lyman Abbott

But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory.—1 Cor. ii., 7.

CORINTH presented probably the hardest field that Paul ever labored in. It was a city given over to skepticism. The Sophists were scholastic theologians before theology was born. They devoted themselves to the discussion of minute points of abstract philosophy. They assumed that the knowledge of man was obtained through his senses; and they made perpetual and futile attempts to penetrate the mystery of life through the senses and the reason. The result of their endeavors was, according to an ancient story, fairly summed up by a conversation between two of these Sophists, one of whom said, "I have concluded that I know nothing;" and the other of whom replied, "I have concluded that I don't even know that!" This was the skepticism of Corinth. God, the future, the soul of man, the cause of natural and moral obligations, the reality of moral obligations—all unknown. And closely related to this, perhaps growing out of it, perhaps producing it, was a spirit of worldliness and sensuality. It was the most corrupt city of the most corrupt State in the most corrupt age of the world. Religion—that is, the heathen religion—had no relation to morality in Corinth, and the temples themselves were dedicated to the promotion of drunkenness and of vice. After Paul had planted a church, and come away, this spirit of skepticism and this spirit of worldliness entered the church; and the church itself became divided into factions. One faction said, "We stand by the old religion, of which Christianity is only a new form;" they called themselves follows of Peter. The second said, "We are radicals; we have cut ourselves loose from the first; Christianity has nothing to do with the ancient religion;" they called themselves followers of Paul. The third said, "Christianity is a new theology; we must have a new philosophy to explain it;" they called themselves followers of Apollos. The fourth said, "We for ourselves have such an intimate relationship with Christ that we neither need tradition nor philosophy, old or new, to help us;" they called themselves followers of Christ. So there sprang up even then the traditionalists, the radicals, the scholastics, and the mystics; and the Church of Christ, facing the grossest form of skepticism and the grossest form of worldliness, faced it divided into contending factions who were fighting one another.

In some sense history does repeat itself; and though certainly it will be untrue to say that American life mirrors Corinthian life, it is not untrue to say that those features of Corinthian life are in a modified and ameliorated form reproduced in American life. We confront the same spirit of skepticism which declares that all that a man knows he learns through his senses and by what he can deduce from his senses. We know what we can see, and hear, and touch, and taste, and feel; and what we can conclude from what we can see, and hear, and touch, and taste, and feel: and all the rest is imagination. This is called sensationalism in philosophy; and this sensationalism in philosophy leads on to skepticism in theology; it leads on by inevitable and logical deduction to the conclusion that there is no certainty of God in the universe; and, for that matter, no certainty of the soul in man. "I have searched the universe,"

[1] A sermon preached in the Mount Auburn Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, O., Sunday morning, April 23, 1899. Stenographically reported by Douglas A. Brown, and revised by the author.

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says Lalande, "with my telescope; and I cannot find God!" And this also leads on to what is called utilitarianism in ethics. There is no instinctive and intuitive perception of virtue. There is no recognition of honesty and honor and truth for their own sake; but that is virtuous which produces the greatest amount of happiness for the greatest number of people. Happiness, the end of creation; the eye, the means of the acquisition of knowledge; and ourselves ignorant who rules us and whose light is before us! And closely connected with this, growing out of it and reacting on and helping to produce it, is the spirit of luxury, effeminacy, vice. The simplicity of the colonial days is gone, and we cannot bring it back again. That simplicity of the colonial days was partly a product of the poverty of the colonial days; and it is doubtful whether any of us are saintly enough to desire both the poverty and simplicity. Both have gone. We have great aggregations of capital; we have men selling themselves to make money, and measuring themselves by the amount of money they make; we have young men coming to the cities and worshiping success; and we have men following the counsel, "Get on, honestly if you can; dishonestly if you must." Day before yesterday I heard three young men talking in a trolley-car—that was in New York, but, after all, New York and Cincinnati are both in America—and one young man said to the other, "What business are you in?" The other answered, "I am in six businesses." And the other man said to him, "You must be making some money." The reply was, "Well, I am not complaining." It is a very simple little dialogue; but it was perfectly clear that those three men, then and there, on that Friday morning—it was not Sunday, in a church—that those three young men, then and there, on that Friday morning, considered that the question for them was, "How shall we make money?" And this in our American life we are continually asking, "What is a man worth? How many thousands?"—measuring the man with a dollar-mark, as you would measure pork. And, growing out of it, this conception of values is the conception of happiness as the end of life. Pleasure! Pleasure! Pleasure! That is the end of life, according to this form of utilitarianism. So we find the same forces undermining the moral life of America that were undermining the moral life of Corinth.

And this spirit of skepticism, this spirit of worldliness, undermining the church and creeping into it, brings with it sectarianism. You can take Paul's description of the parties in Corinth, and read it again, putting other men's names in it in the place of Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and Christ; and you will have a picture of the sectarian spirit of our own time: I am of Calvin; I am of Wesley; I am of Fox; and I am of Christ: for we have the Christians here also. It is said that there are in America over three hundred separate Protestant denominations; and, as if that were not enough, there are quite a goodly number of independent churches besides; while there are men who do not know about joining the church, for they do not know which church to join! We are divided on questions of doctrine into Calvinists and Armenians; we are divided on questions of order into Presbyterians and Congregationalists and Episcopalians; we are divided on questions of ritual into Baptists and Pedo-Baptists; and, as if that were not enough, there are at least two or three Presbyterian divisions; there are two or three Methodist divisions; there are two Episcopalian divisions; and I do not know how many of Congregationalists. Thus you have here in America the same spirit of skepticism, the same spirit of worldliness, and the same spirit of sectarianism, which Paul confronted in Corinth.

Now, as far as I can within the limits of a single sermon, which ought to be briefer than I am afraid I am going to make this, this morning, I want to point out what was Paul's method of meeting skepticism, worldliness, and sectarianism, as he indicates it in this first letter to the Corinthians. He treats these all as symptoms of the same disease, and applies to them all the same remedy. With that characteristic radicalism which belonged to him, he says, in effect, "You skeptics, I concede all that you claim; and you are wrong. You men of the world, I concede all that you claim; and you are wrong. You sectarians, I concede nothing to you; and you are wrong!" The skeptic says, "I can see; I can hear; I can touch; I can taste; I can feel; and seeing, hear-

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ing, touching, tasting, feeling, that is believing. I know those things; and from all those things by my reason I can reach certain conclusions. I know those things; but all that lies beyond is the unknown." And Paul says, "Yes, you are right; but it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." Lalande says, "I have searched the heavens for God; and I cannot find him." Paul says, "You are right. You cannot find him. Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard him. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them." You are wise to be an agnostic; for all you know is derived from your eye and ear. You cannot know God; you cannot know immortality; you cannot know Christ; you cannot know eternal things by the sense and by deductions from the senses. But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery; which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." They are spiritually discerned. Paul starts with the affirmation that man is more than an animal, and more than a sensible being; he has in him more than that which the eye can see and the ear can hear; he has a sixth sense; he has in him a direct and immediate capacity for perceiving the invisible and the eternal. If a man shuts his eyes, he cannot see color; if he shuts his ears, he cannot hear music. If he shuts this sixth sense, if he shuts out the spiritual nature, if he bars the doors against it, and will not use it, he is right to be an agnostic; he ought to be. If he is seeking truth with the mere eye, the mere ear, and the mere reason deducing from the eye and ear, he cannot see God. But the greatest truths are not those we see through the eye, hear through the ear, or touch with the hand, or taste with the palate. You see these flowers—they are beautiful; but why is it that one person sees beauty in a flower, and another person none?

When Jenny Lind was in this country so many years ago, I heard her in the oratorio of "The Messiah." As I sat in my seat, there came and sat near me an old, weather-beaten sea-captain, who asked me to point her out to him as she came in. There was a chorus, one or two solos, I believe, and then Jenny Lind rose and sang "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden;" and as she sang, it seemed to me that I could hear the voice of the Master singing down through the years; and the hall was hushed and silent when she took her seat, with a silence more significant than any applause. Then I heard a harsh, grating sound at my side, and, turning about, saw that the poor old sea-captain was sound asleep, and snoring! He had heard all that I heard; he had seen all that I saw; but why did he not hear what I heard? why did he not catch what the audience caught? Because there was no music in his soul. There must be music in the soul to respond to the music of the organ, of the choir, of the singer; or there is no music. Eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive, the music that God hath prepared for man. All our business rests on truths that are not proved, not demonstrated. We in our business trust one another; and we go on trusting one another, in spite of the defalcations and frauds here and there, now and then; we do it wisely, because we believe in what? Honesty. How long is honesty? How broad is honesty? What color is honesty? How does honesty taste? What do your senses show you about honesty? If a man says, "I do not believe in honesty," you do not argue with him; but you keep your hand on your pocketbook till you get out of his presence. Honesty lies in the very structure of man. He sees it, he knows it. Our homes are built on love. Oh, mother, why do you spend so much time over that crippled boy? The doctor tells you he cannot live a great while. Two or three years, and then he will be gone from you. You will get no money from him—and we are living for money in this world; you will get no pictures; you will get no books; nothing that your eye can see for it; and you will not even get a grown-up boy by and by to take care of you when you get old. He has a hopeless spinal complaint; he is going to die. But if you dare to say that to the mother, she would shoot you through with her fiery eyes, then look upon you with ineffable pity, as a man who does not know the love

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that transcends all things that eye sees, or ear hears, or reason concludes. This is Paul's method of meeting skepticism. He says to every man, "You are a spiritual being; you are one of God's children; you are of kin to the Almighty; you have eyes to see the things that cannot be seen; you have ears to hear the things that cannot be heard." How do I know that there is a God? How do you know that you have a mother? You have seen her! Oh, I beg your pardon; you never yet saw your mother. You have seen her face, her features, her eyes, her form; but that is not mother. If that be mother, then why, when the form lies prostrate and you press your lips on the lips that never before refused to answer that pressure, and look into the eyes that never before failed to look with answering love back into yours, why do you wring your hands and cry for "Mother!" if the form you see is mother? No, it is the loving heart, the spirit of ineffable and long-suffering tenderness, that is your mother. We that are Christians, having that same measure of Paul's faith, be it little or much, we know that there is a God, because we have seen him, we have walked with him, we have been upon the mountain and talked with him; we have been in sorrow and he has comforted us; we have been in weakness and he has strengthened us; we have been tempted and he has enabled us to conquer; we have fallen into sin and he has lifted from us its heavy burden.

Are you immortal? you wonder. Well, so do I. I do not know. I know that part of you is immortal. And I see sometimes some men of whom I wonder whether there is anything about them that is not mortal. A Frenchman was discussing that question with a Christian. He argued at great length to prove that the soul is not immortal; and the Christian friend replied, "Probably you are right; probably you are not immortal; but I am." This spring one of the trees said to itself, "Spring has come. The buds are come. The fruit is coming. I feel a stirring within myself. Spring is coming, bringing life, new life." And another tree which stood near, with dead branches and dead trunk and dead roots, dead from top to bottom, replied: "Nonsense! I do not feel any such stirrings within me. I do not feel any such flowing of sap; I do not feel any such intimation; I feel no such suggestion of buds. Nonsense! It is visionary; there is no spring coming." And to the dead tree there is no spring coming as it comes to the living tree, bringing renewed life. The remedy for skepticism is not by labored argument to deduce God from the phenomena of the universe. The remedy for skepticism is to awake the spiritual nature of man so that he may see the good that was before only hypothesis; that he may find certainty where before was only hope.

And this is the remedy for worldliness also. The worldly man says, "The world is mine." "Yes," Paul says, "it is all yours. All things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come, all are yours." And, as he has conceded everything that the agnostic claims, yet says the agnostic is wrong, so he concedes all that the man of the world claims, and yet says that the man of the world is wrong. All is yours, for ye are Christ's, and Christ's is God's.

Why is the world yours? It is the universal law that the lower is made to serve the higher; the inorganic world furnishes material out of which the organic is formed. Out of the juices and minerals of the earth the tree is framed and shaped; and out of the vegetable creation the animate is formed. The ox eats grass, and the grass becomes ox; the ox does not become grass. The grass serves the animal, as the inorganic served the organic. The animal serves man, is made to serve him, made to be underneath him and in subjection to him. So in man the lower serves the higher; and when any man makes the higher serve the lower, he turns creation, so far as he is concerned, upside down. In him the ox becomes grass, not grass ox. Now, that happens whenever a man says to himself, "I am in this world to make what I can out of it." What does that mean? It means, I, a spiritual being for whom things were created, I am going to take my reason, my vision, my capacity, my power, to make money. Men are not to make money; money is to make men. Folks are not for things; things are for folks. Material things are for the service of man in his intellectual and in his spiritual state. It is no remedy for a man who

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is living for pleasure, living for accumulation, living for the things of this life, to say to him, "You must not do it quite so much; you must put two dimes in the collection-plate instead of one; or, You must drink one glass of beer instead of two; you must not do this, you must not do that, you must not do the other." It does not make any difference what he does, so long as he is living upside down. We try to save ourselves from the worse evils of self-indulgence by drawing lines. We imagine that we can go on living for self—that is, using our higher nature to minister to our lower one, and yet be moral if we do not transcend certain lines. So the question comes up over and over again. I do not know how many times it has been written to me, as editor of The Outlook, "Where shall I draw the line?" It is drawn between courses of conduct: it is wrong to go to the theater, but right to go the circus—especially if you have the children with you. Or, lines are drawn between individuals: it is right for a layman to go to the theater, but he does not want his minister to go; it is right for a girl to dance, until she joins the church; then she must stop dancing. All these fictitious, false distinctions Paul sweeps away. The whole world is yours; all teachers are yours; all books are yours; all literature is yours; all the world and all its activities are yours; all things present and future are yours; but they are yours to use; to use that by them you may minister to your own higher nature and the higher nature of men and women around about you.

A boy goes into his father's artist studio, takes some paints, and begins to splash carelessly on the canvas. If the father is foolish, he takes the pigments from the boy, boxes his ears, and says, "Go away!" If he has wisdom as a father, he will say, "My son, I am glad to see you trying to paint. I will show you how." And he takes fresh pigment, and gets a little piece of canvas, and draws the outline of a man, and shows the boy how to outline the face and fill it in with white color, and paint the jacket blue, and the pantaloons red; and suddenly the boy has blossomed into the beginning of an artist. So all things in the studio of life are yours; but you are to use them, not to splash the canvas, but to paint. So in that wonderfully poetic description of creation, in the first chapter of Genesis, what is the teaching? I have made this world for you to live in: take it; use it; have dominion over it. In that wonderful biography of Christ, what is the teaching? John the Baptist came and said, "This is a bad world; it is an immoral world; it is a wicked world; I will keep out of the world. People grow effeminate by the dress they wear; I will wear a rough garment. People grow gluttonous by the food they eat; I will eat nothing but locusts and wild honey." Christ comes and begins his ministry by changing water into wine for the guests at the wedding; and ends his life drinking wine at the Last Supper; and so lived during all the period of his earthly ministry that, from that beginning to that end, while he never in any instance declined a single social invitation, he yet gave cause for offense in none. He lived with all men, joining in their social pleasures, joining in their life, and bringing them to him by it all, and yet so doing it always that no man could call him a winebibber or a glutton without the falsity of the accusation being at once manifest; so living that every man that sees him, and every man that has read the story since, knows that while he was subjected to all the influences with which men struggle in this life, he always served the Master's will—a service which meant to him self-sacrifice. The remedy for worldliness is not drawing of lines; it is not prohibition of any kind. It is dedication. It is a shame for a man to be a millionaire in possessions if he is not also a millionaire in beneficence. The only man whom Christ called a fool was the man who thought that property was only good to be hoarded; did not know that it was to be used!

Paul declares further that the cause of sectarianism in the Church is that same thing which has caused worldliness and skepticism. "I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal"—"for ye are yet carnal; for whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?" You are fleshly men, he says. And it is because you are fleshly men that you are divided up as you are. One says, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollos; and I, of Cephas; and I, of Christ. It ought to add something to

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our humility, this declaration of the Apostle, if we really believe it, that the division of the Christian Church to-day into Calvinists and Arminians, into Presbyterians and Episcopalians and Congregationalists, into Baptists and Pedo-Baptists, has for its root the same evil poison that produces sensuality and worldliness, that produces skepticism and unbelief. But that is Paul's declaration; and his remedy is this: Go back to your message; and in the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians he tells us that message very clearly:

> Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand. . . . For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures.

There is a spiritual world which the eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive; and out of that spiritual world, out of that invisible world all round about us, there came one bearing the shape and form of the Son of man, bearing in himself the Spirit of the Son of God; and he has come and he has lived among men that men might see, and might feel the divine manifestation. Our eyes have seen him, says John; and our hands have handled him. He has lived this life that we might understand what spiritual life means. We have had the swift-moving vision of it; then it has gone out. Men have thought that the spiritual has died altogether; then the Christ has come back again; and with apparition after apparition, disclosure after disclosure, he has hammered his way into the hearts of the skeptical unbelieving disciples till they have come to the conclusion that they were nearer to the spirit world than ever they were before. He appears before their eyes; he meets them at the supper-table; he enters into their prayer-meeting; he joins with them where they are fishing; he tells them, "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Always walking with us unseen, as with the disciples on the road to Emmaus. Ever since that day of resurrection, what is it that has been or should have been the message of the Church? Not a creed, not a symbol or system, not any such thing as that; but this: we know that the spirit world is real; we know that He that was born of a virgin has come and lived among men; we have seen Him; we know the spirit world is real; because death cannot conquer Him; He has risen from the dead, and come again and showed Himself to us. It is only when the Church does not know, only when the Church forgets its message, only when it thinks its message is philosophy, or a symbol, that it quarrels over these little things. Did you ever know a revival of religion and an ecclesiastical trial to go on in a church at the same time? Spiritual life—when the Church gets that; when it sees its Christ; when it knows him; when it walks with him; when it lives with him; even though it still maintains its creed, its forms and ceremonies, and its order and organization, still it will not be known by these, nor care for these; but only by and for that one transcendent message, that the Son of God has lived, and suffered, and died, and risen again, that we might live the life that he lived, and enter into eternal life with him.

Sometimes we wish, all of us, I think, that our poor halting faith might have some support from sense. If this morning, as I talk to you, our faith could only have an instant, visible representation; if we could see Christ here; if, looking up, we could see the friends that have gone before all gathered here; if I could see my father, and my mother, and my brother, and my friends watching me to see what sort of a message I would give; if you that have come here, some of you, with the habiliments of mourning, with woe in your heart, might see the friend at your side, wondering that you are not wearing white in thankfulness at his glorification; if only for this little while these earthly things could be swept away, if from this dream that we are living we could awake to the divine and splendid reality, we should not go back to quarrel with our brothers of like family because they phrase their belief differently, and we should never go back to doubt again the splendid, divine reality of the spiritual life. Why do we wait for our heaven? Why? "Ye are come unto Mount Sion, unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general

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assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant." "Ye are come:" not by and by in some great judgment day shall we come, not by and by when God mercifully strips off from us this covering of our flesh, and our spirit is emancipated; now! now! we have come. The remedy for skepticism, and the remedy for sensuality and effeminacy and luxury, and the remedy for sectarian divisions and strife in the Church of Jesus Christ, is all one. It is the spiritual vision that knows and sees God, Christ, and immortality, and lives with Him in the eternal life, here and now!

Industrial Emancipation in New Zealand

By Hugh H. Lusk

IT has been said that in all ages of history mankind has found the nurseries of its great ideas, both social and political, not in the great empires, but in the small States of the civilized world. It is interesting to find that even now in this age, with its prevailing tendency to political aggregation, there is still evidence to be found that the little States rather than the great empires are the natural seedbeds of social and political reform. Thus in Europe it has been little Switzerland, and not republican France nor imperial Germany, that has experimented upon the best methods of bringing the intelligent opinion of the people to bear upon legislation; and thus, among the young and vigorous offshoots of our own Anglo-Saxon stock, it is the little colony of New Zealand, and not Australia, Canada, or South Africa, which is year by year providing object-lessons in social and political economy for the race. It is no doubt well that it should be so. The experiments that can be tried with safety and advantage by a community like New Zealand, of less than a million inhabitants, self-contained by position, might prove dangerous, if not impracticable, in the case of the great nations, whose external relations and internal organization might suffer from experimental legislation.

During the last twenty-five years New Zealand has been the workshop of social and political experiment. In nearly every line of political thought she has attempted new departures from the beaten track, and in almost every department of political economy she has attempted to put into practical operation the ideas that have elsewhere been scoffed at as the insubstantial dreams of visionary philosophers. It has been with no idea of constituting herself the guide and teacher of the rest of civilized humanity that she has done this; indeed, it is hardly too much to say that very often her Parliament, and even her political leaders, have drifted rather than steered along the course they have followed. Each step she has taken has suggested, sometimes it has almost compelled, the next, until to-day the little country, not yet sixty years removed from its aboriginal barbarism, has become in nearly every respect an object of curious study to thoughtful men in every part of the civilized world.

The history of industrial emancipation in New Zealand may be selected as one of a number of social questions that have been dealt with within the last few years in a manner which illustrates the process of evolution to which I have referred, and with results that appear to be worthy of general interest and investigation. It is interesting to note that industrial or labor legislation in New Zealand was not the offspring of social agitation. The country is not as yet largely a manufacturing one; that is to say, with the single exception of woolen fabrics, its people export scarcely any manufactured goods, being content to produce a large proportion of what they require for home consumption. There were, therefore, no great factories and mills, nor were strikes of any class of workers ever frequent or at all widespread in the colony. The policy of reform in industrial relations and conditions took its rise, perhaps fortunately, from a different set

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of circumstances. The railway system of the country was the real origin of the industrial legislation of New Zealand. In that colony, as, indeed, in all the colonies of Australasia, the railways were created by the State and have remained the property of the people at large. This was not, as may be hastily supposed, the result of deep political design, but of convenience in some instances and of necessity in others. In the case of New Zealand it was the result of necessity. Private enterprise would not have ventured its money in the speculation, and the choice lay between government-made railroads and none at all. The government railway system was begun in 1874, and its extension has been going on from year to year ever since. No attempt has been made to rush construction, the leading idea being that railroads should, as far as possible, keep pace with the settlement of the land. Within a very few years after the policy of construction was inaugurated, however, portions of the system began to be operated, and as this was done by the Government, it involved the employment of a body of laborers, more or less skilled, whose numbers increased with the extension of the operations.

It was thus that the Government of New Zealand became an employer of labor on a large scale; and it was thus that questions of the fair relations between employer and employed were forced upon their attention. No strike of railway servants ever occurred, but as the numbers increased, such questions as hours of labor and the wages to which each class of operatives was fairly entitled became more and more prominent. After a time eight hours was fixed upon as the legitimate extent of a working day, for which a regular wage, sufficient to maintain the worker, should be paid; and a liberal though not extravagant scale of wages was settled upon. The example of the Government workman soon became the standard which other workers set before themselves as the proper one to aim at, and, to prevent friction arising, the Parliament was almost compelled to legislate on the subject. It was thus that the first step was taken—that of the declaration that eight hours was the full legal extent of a working day for which a day's wage should become due. Labor of any kind, if it extended beyond the limit, was to be looked upon as extra time, and was to be paid for, not only as a separate contract, but at an advanced rate, the object being as far as possible to discourage the employment of the workers during longer hours than were considered desirable as the limits of daily labor.

The step thus taken was an important one, but it had scarcely been taken before it was discovered that it had only brought a new question into prominence. To curtail the hours of labor was found to lead at once to the further question of the price to be paid for a day's work. The employer had but to reduce by one-fifth the wages he paid each workman to render his eight-hour day as cheap to him as his ten-hour day had been before the law was passed; he had only to employ a few more hands to avoid the difficulty of extra pay for extra hours. For a time it almost seemed as though the reform had been anything but an advantage to the workman, and conservative capitalists were ready to make merry at the expense of the reformers who had made so ineffectual an attempt to upset the time-honored relations between labor and capital, and actually to fly in the face of the sacred doctrine that the gospel of economic supply and demand was the proper and only salvation of the workers.

The evil, however, was too evident to remain long undealt with by legislation in a country where, as in New Zealand, the individual electors and their representatives are in close touch, without the fatal intervention of political machines, rings, and bosses. It was felt that something must be done to regulate wages, and it was also felt that it must necessarily be such a measure as would be capable of adjustment to suit many conditions and sets of circumstances. It was thus that the system of compulsory arbitration took its rise. Shortly stated, it consists of two parts—a local arbitration, which either party to any trade dispute in which wages are involved can invoke by simple and inexpensive means; which is, in fact, a reference to a board of conciliation, not clothed with the power to enforce its decisions on either party; and, failing conciliation by its means, reference to a central court of arbitration, by way of appeal, at the instance of either party,

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with the provision that its decision shall be final and enforceable by all the powers of the State. The boards of local conciliation are locally elected bodies, half the members representing workers for wages, and the other half employers. The central or State board of arbitration consists of five members, two representing wage-earners and two employers of labor, while the fifth is the Chairman of the board, and is a Judge of the Supreme Court of the country, appointed to the office by the executive government of the colony. The reports of the proceedings of this court are published quarterly by the Government, so that the public are kept fully informed of all that is done in relation to disputes involving the question of wages.

It need hardly be said that the experiment was regarded with something more than suspicion in many quarters. The authority of all the schools of political economists of past and present ages was invoked to prove that the results of such an interference between labor and capital could result only in disaster to both. Nothing, indeed, was wanting to condemn the new legislation but the verdict of experience, but that has been withheld. Time after time recourse has been had to the new system—at first by the workers only, but latterly quite as often by the employers of labor—and apparently with the best results to both parties.

Some of the questions coming before the new tribunal, however, quickly suggested the need of further legislation respecting matters not properly coming within the scope of arbitration. Such questions related to the hours and conditions for the employment of women, and the age at which young persons of either sex might become wage-earners at all. On both these questions legislation has interfered, very materially circumscribing the powers of employers, parents, and even of the young persons themselves as to the age at which they might be employed, and the hours and conditions under which they should work until they attained the age of eighteen years. Upon this there followed the question of a weekly holiday; and, in spite of much opposition, it was finally enacted that all wage-earners were fairly entitled to one half-day—not being Sunday—in each week as a holiday, without loss of wages. In this way the hours of a week's labor were reduced in New Zealand from forty-eight to forty-four; and once more conservatives were ready to prophesy disaster and impoverishment for the country. Of this there are no signs as yet; indeed, the colony was never more prosperous.

The last step in the emancipation of labor has, it would appear, just been taken in New Zealand, by the establishment of a system of old-age pensions for those of the people who, at the age of sixty-five, are without sufficient means of support. Such a proposition is evidently a necessary part of any complete plan for the emancipation of the workers from the ordinary risks of the wage-earner's position, which involves the liability to being deprived of work in advancing years, with the risk of becoming an object of individual charity in old age. The particulars of the scheme have not as yet come to hand, but it is, as indeed might have been expected, not akin to the State insurance law of Germany, but merely an acknowledgment that the State owes it to each citizen to see that in old age he or she shall not be exposed to want, on the one hand, or to the loss of self-respect which attends upon the receipt of systematic charity, either from the State or individuals, on the other.

It will be evident to every reader that at each step in this legislation the Parliament and people of New Zealand have ignored deliberately the recognized canons of economic science. They have laid themselves open to the oft-repeated charge of destroying the spirit of self-reliance and substituting one of State dependence in the mass of the people. They have done everything which could well be thought of to incur the ban of the economists, and to draw down upon their country the doom of an industrial decay. It is interesting, if only as a matter of curiosity, to note that these flagrant economic sins do not as yet show any signs of calling down upon them the expected punishment. New Zealand to-day is flourishing, and, strange to say, is growing wealthy year by year, in spite of all. Her workers appear to produce, in spite of their short hours of labor, notwithstanding their half-holiday weekly, more marketable produce than the workers of almost any other country in the world. Last year

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they sent away produce, for the most part agricultural, equal in value to seventy-five dollars per head for every inhabitant of the colony. They had land in cultivation equal to more than fifteen acres for every person in the country; sheep to the number of twenty-six for each inhabitant; and cattle to the number of more than one and a half for each. The ordinary banks of the colony held on deposit fully ninety-two dollars for each person of the community, while the savings banks held an additional thirty-six dollars. These figures, which are taken from the latest official returns of the colony, challenge comparison with the condition of things in any other country, however great or wealthy, that the world can show, and they would at least appear to raise, as a matter for discussion and further inquiry, the truth of the doctrines so arrogantly declared to be unalterable laws of economic science.

Books and Authors

Books of the Week

[The books mentioned under this head were received by The Outlook during the week ending May 5. Prices will be found under the head of Books Received in the preceding issue of The Outlook. This weekly report of current literature will be supplemented by fuller reviews of the more important works.]

NOVELS AND TALES

Mr. Eden Phillpott's *Children of the Mist* will give the author, in our judgment, a high place among living English novelists. He had already done excellent work in fiction in "Some Every-day Folks," a delightful though leisurely tale of country-town society, which in a measure had the flavor of a modernized "Cranford," as well as in "Lying Prophets" and one or two less well-known books. Good as these were, the present novel stands head and shoulders above them. Beginning with quiet pictures of Devonshire life and character, with the slow, soft-spoken, rich dialect made familiar to readers of Blackmore's and Walter Raymond's stories, it develops naturally, deliberately, and strongly into a novel of motive, passion, temperament, cause and effect, such as Mr. Thomas Hardy at his best need not have been ashamed to produce. We are not surprised, after reading the book, to know that the author of "Lorna Doone" felt moved to write: "Knowing nothing of the writer or his works, I was simply astonished at the beauty and power of this novel. Literature has been enriched with a wholesome, genial, and noble tale, the reading of which is a pleasure in store for many." There is not a carelessly drawn character in the story; at least eight or ten of its men and women stand out, clear and distinct individualities, in the reader's mind after the novel is read and laid down. Its union of humor and power is quite unusual. There is nothing hasty, skimped, or affected about it; only readers who want to absorb a novel in an odd hour and then throw it aside to be forgotten will grudge the time for the careful, appreciative reading this novel must have to be known for what it is. No one could possibly accuse the author of dullness; some may accuse him of over-deliberateness. As to his philosophy, although he brings out some of the hard aspects of heredity, inevitable law, the temperamental development of good and evil passions and traits, there is nothing hopeless, pessimistic, or sourly cynical; on the contrary, the book leaves a pleasant and cheerful impression. "Children of the Mist" is a work of notable vigor. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.)

Miss Beatrice Harraden can hardly write a dull book. Her natural vivacity and keenness would protect her from that flatness which overtakes so many contemporary long stories. If the great qualities are denied her, she has many of those lesser qualities which, taken in the proper combination, make a good story-writer. Her latest long story, *The Fowler*, is a very careful piece of work, wrought out with ability and literary skill. The story is distinctly psychological in its interest, but it is a psychology which is subordinate to the function of story-telling, and not paramount to it. The study of the gradual possession of one personality by another belongs properly to the novelist; it has been very successfully made before, but not precisely under the same conditions under which Miss Harraden has chosen to work out her problem. This is

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in many ways a woman's story; and there is that knowledge of invalidism in it which has been a curious and not uninteresting feature of almost all of Miss Harraden's work. Her heroine, however, possesses a glorious vitality, and is the very incarnation of life up to the time when she becomes temporarily the victim of a parasite. The story is full of cleverness of characterization and interesting talk; and, although not giving the reader the deepest sense of reality, holds the attention to the end. (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.)

Mr. Robert Herrick's short stories in the volume called *Love's Dilemmas* are always clever, sometimes subtle and keen, frequently suggestive of the depths of personal and social problems under modern conditions. Perhaps they are a trifle mannered and over-refined, but certainly they have more than surface ability. (H. S. Stone & Co., Chicago.)

In *Men's Tragedies* Mr. R. V. Risley presents nine "studies of intensity," to use his own phrase. All are of somber power; each has its dramatic climax, its striking situation, its crisis of passion. It is perhaps significant that "The Man who Hated" lives more vividly in the reader's imagination than "The Man who Loved;" that "The Man who Fell" is more distinct than "The Man who Bore;" "The Man who Sneered" than "The Man who Cared." For these tragedies of the soul are by no means optimistic in their reflection of life and character; their nobility is not that of idealization, but of concentrated suffering and strength of endurance. Despite a little mannerism and occasional straining for effect, the author has put intellectual force into these "fictional essays;" he writes, moreover, with terseness and extraordinary concentration of purpose, while a grim and almost sardonic wit lightens the gloomy situations. The tales take hold on the imagination irresistibly. They are sure to be widely read and to provoke discussion. Beyond question this author has a literary future to be watched with interest. (The Macmillan Company, New York.)

We suppose that *Sand 'n' Bushes*, by the late Maria Louise Pool, is the last work from her pen which will appear. It is, we believe, her third story published posthumously. There is a certain satisfaction in the fact that, like Miss Poole's first story, "Roweny in Boston," this last is essentially a novel of character and humor rather than one of those psychological-problem-novels which she had more than once essayed with only moderate success. "Sand 'n' Bushes" is light, agreeable, keen-witted, and readable—altogether a pleasant book for summer vacation reading. It tells the adventures of two New England girls on a horseback trip in the Cape Cod region, and the fun is genuine, if at times a trifle extravagant. (H. S. Stone & Co., Chicago.)

The Cougar-Tamer and Other Stories of Adventure is a collection of short hunting and mountain tales by Frank W. Calkins. Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Canada are the scenes of these adventures. Each has a thrilling minute, and all are told crisply and dramatically. (H. S. Stone & Co., Chicago.)

Mr. Merwin-Webster's *Short Line War* is a capital story of adventure in the field of railroading. It is crowded with action from beginning to end, and is a very effective picture of what may take place in the way of civil war within the borders of a highly organized State. It is a study of a fight between two factions for the possession of a railroad, which passes through successive stages of stock-manipulation, physical struggle for possession, the dragging in of the judges, and the final interference of the Governor. The story throws effective side-lights in many directions, and brings clearly before the mind of the reader the various methods of bribery, of intrigues within Boards of Directors, of influencing judges, and of reaching Governors. There are plenty of movement, good skill at character-drawing, and a very pretty love story. (The Macmillan Company, New York.)

Mr. John Bickerdyke has published, through Messrs. G.P. Putnam's Sons (New York), a sea romance entitled *The Passing of Prince Rozan*. The story is a succession of startling and improbable adventures, with a decidedly Hooley-like commercial imbroglio as their reason-of-being.

ickery ann & other girls & boys, by elia w. peattie—we follow the printed title as to lack of capitals—is a collection of stories as unique as the arrangement of the title. The stories are humorous,

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pathetic, fanciful, and some are written with a distinct moral purpose. "Bertha's Début" is, on the whole, the most dainty and effective of the stories; its charm lies in its naturalness. (H. S. Stone & Co., Chicago.)

Those Dale Girls, by Frances Weston Carruth (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago), is the story of two bright girls, educated by their father in the most haphazard and unconventional manner, who, finding themselves compelled to earn their own living, do it bravely and cheerfully, and accomplish wonders, without having either previous experience or training. Their business success is only equaled by their social success, and the story ends in a double wedding, with just a touch of the Spanish-American war, given for the purpose of introducing the necessary element of a possible tragedy.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

The two volumes comprising the *Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow* represent an enormous amount of laborious and conscientious work on the part of the author, Professor William I. Knapp. The reading world has waited for a generation for a thorough and satisfactory treatment of the life of this extraordinary man. We here merely call attention to the publication of the work; before long we shall review it at some length. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.)

Thaddeus Stevens, by S. W. McCall, is the last volume in the American Statesman Series. The special value of this book is in its record of the reconstruction proceedings. Thaddeus Stevens was a radical Abolitionist, and this volume puts in sharp contrast President Johnson's plan of reconstruction and that which was finally adopted, the effects of which we are still feeling. Mr. McCall is right in saying, "Whatever path was followed was sure to be surrounded with some peril. Congress took the course which at the time appeared to be attended with the slightest danger to liberty." Results have not fully justified this appearance, but the candid historian must acknowledge that, even with all the light which subsequent history throws upon the question, the problem how to reconstruct the Southern half of the United States so as to protect the colored man without imperiling that local self-government which is the foundation of the Republic was a difficult and almost insuperable problem. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.)

Although the Civil War was not marked in the region west of the Mississippi by actions of such magnitude as in the eastern half of the country, yet the contest was characterized by a stubbornness and especially by a peculiar ferocity which require the attention of the historian. The prototypes of the fiendishness of recent lynching mobs are found in the border guerrillas of the story, which is graphically told by Mr. Wiley Britton in *The Civil War on the Border*, the second and last volume of which has appeared. His narrative, based on official reports and his personal observations, includes the military operations in Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory during 1863–65, and the various massacres which have left indelible disgrace upon "the lost cause." A chapter is devoted to the one first-rate achievement in the whole history, the building of the Red River dam, by which the fleet was tided over rocky falls and saved. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.)

Not in his "French Revolution" or his "England under Gladstone" or his "Irish History" does Mr. Justin Huntly McCarthy write so clearly, concisely, and iustructively as in his latest work, *A Short History of the United States*. The American edition (published by Messrs. H. S. Stone & Co., Chicago) is not as large in size as the English, yet the print seems as agreeable to the eye. The publishers of both editions are to be congratulated on their paper, print, and binding. As we have hinted, the work deserves such treatment; it may even take rank with some readers alongside some weightier single-volume histories, as those of Fiske, Channing, and Goldwin Smith. With all readers there will be an acknowledgment of the often poetic and picturesquely appropriate language used in the narration of our history. The author's age and ancestry are thus appropriately reflected, and his book is a grateful change from dry-as-dust history-writings. The volume will appeal to the general reader; its worth to the serious student, however, is another matter.

The remarkable many-sidedness of

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Gladstone's life lends itself well to a biography, the work of different hands. Hence an unorganic but interesting endeavor is the latest *Life of William Ewart Gladstone*. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.) The American edition is published in two volumes—an improvement over the original one stout volume; but the rather large page and the rather small type make at times uneasy reading for weak eyes. The many illustrations are poor, excepting the fine frontispiece portrait. Sir Wemyss Reid edits the work. His own text consists of the first and last chapters. They are perhaps the most illuminative, and they are the most comprehensive, but they lack the special interest attaching to such chapters as those on "Mr. Gladstone as a Scholar," by Mr. A. J. Butler, "Mr. Gladstone as a Theologian," by Canon MacColl, and "Mr. Gladstone as an Orator," by Mr. H. W. Lucy. Most of the remaining chapters are the work of Mr. F. W. Hirst, and his biography is done with an engaging balance. He seems hardly so much of a Gladstone admirer as are Messrs. McCarthy and Russell, or even the writer of "Punch's" admirable "Life." With one or all of these three recently published biographies this work is sure to be compared. In some respects it stands the comparison well; not so in others—especially in those lacks apt to appear in collaborative attempts. However, this and all of the dozen or more Gladstone biographies will be quite cast in the shade when Mr. Morley's monumental work appears.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

The last two volumes of the *Polychrome Bible* are the *Book of Joshua*, by the Rev. W. H. Bennett, M.A., Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature, Hackney and New Colleges, London, and the *Book of Ezekiel*, by C. H. Toy, LL.D., Professor in Harvard University. Ezekiel has come down to us substantially as it left the author's hand. In this respect it differs from the Book of Isaiah, for example, which is composed of a variety of writings by different authors. Ezekiel is probably the least read of the three great prophets, and we are glad to have it in this new version, which will make parts of it at least more intelligible than they are in the authorized version. The chapter divisions and their headings seem to us admirable. (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.)

Dr. Anson P. Atterbury, of New York, has put forth a book, *Islam in Africa*, which effectively disposes of the romancing view that Mohammedanism among the natives of that continent is to be hopefully regarded as a preparatory school for a future advance to Christianity. In contrast with the statement of Dr. Blyden that it has established "a great total abstinence society throughout Central Africa," the fact is that the Arabs are the chief importers of intoxicants into the country. During the last decade our information as to Mohammedanism in Africa has become more full and precise. It has reduced populous regions to deserts by bloody conquests or cruel slave-raids. It undoubtedly develops virile strength of mind in the pagan, but it leaves him essentially a pagan, brutal and licentious. It is simply an enemy to civilization, whose forces must be massed against it. The transcontinental railroad will open the way for the forward movement of Christianity. The peculiar type of Mohammedanism in Africa renders it more easy for Christianity to supplant. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.)

Professor Gilbert's *Student's Life of Paul*, like his "Student's Life of Jesus," is a clear, compact, and critical presentation of historical facts, without much space given to Pauline theological teaching. The author subdivides his chapters into numbered paragraphs, thus emphasizing the text-book appearance. Foot-notes and a good index give full references to the Bible, but the references to the literature of the subject are perhaps not as exhaustive as many scholars might wish. The language is simple and unrhetorical, but for the general reader it lacks color. To the student, however, the author's spirit, especially in dealing with mooted questions, will be of widespread appeal, and thus the work ought to be sure of success. As all Bible students are interested in the matter of assigning a proper chronology to Paul's life (we are sure, according to Professor Gilbert, of but one date in that life), it may be added that our author is against connecting the death of the Apostle with the Neronian persecution of 64

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A.D., a date, however, put forth by such eminent scholars as Harnack and Holtzmann. (The Macmillan Company, New York.)

No one who knows how thoroughly Canon Gore enters into the spirit of churchmanship will be surprised at his interpretation of the *Epistle to the Romans;* indeed, the Canon himself is persuaded that only a man absorbed in "the obligation of the one body may interpret the Great Apostle's words with any completeness." Surely, if the word "catholic" defines the position of the High Church leader, it also defines St. Paul in his effort to gain equal position in the Church both for Jews and Gentiles—the motive of that masterpiece of argumentation which we know as the Epistle to the Romans. Canon Gore's method of exposition is that which he has already used in his commentary on Ephesians. A section of the Revised Version is taken, prefaced either by a paraphrase or an analysis, and followed by further explanation. The commentator clearly shows the distinction of Romans in being an ordered theological treatise. All the comment is alive with the spiritual force of the author of "Lux Mundi." (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.)

ECONOMICS, ETC.

Pauperizing the Rich, by Mr. Alfred J. Ferris, of Philadelphia, is "an inquiry into the value and significance of unearned wealth to its owners and society." The so-called pauper, who is maintained by the town upon plain diet, and the idle rich, whom society supports in sterile splendor, undeniably belong to the same class, as unproductive consumers. Excess of wealth thus pauperizes the latter. From this point of view Mr. Ferris writes as a critic of the existing social order. He is brimful of humanity; there is no harshness in his indictment of social wrong, but a serious sympathy, relieved by occasional banter and sarcasm. In a population of 65,000,000 by the last census, he reckons 15,000,000 as destitute, on a per capita income of $35, and 35,000,000 as poor, on a per capita income of $85. These are the disinherited. They have a common right with the social grades above them as heirs to "the people's property in ideas" (the wealth-producing inventions of past time), of which they cannot avail themselves. But those who can and do should pay in proportion to their use of the common right—as men with two or twenty cows in a common pasture pay *pro rata*. This seems reasonable, and Mr. Ferris contends that $160 per capita could thus be realized by the collection of proper royalties—a sum which would at once lift all the destitute out of destitution, while leaving the rich with still ample income and promoting the welfare of all the rest. The agency for the estimation, collection, and distribution of these royalties is to be the National Government. Mr. Ferris confesses that this is impracticable from the world's point of view, but merely because of its strangeness. Utopian it is; yet things intrinsically reasonable have a way of getting realized at length in some sort. Mr. Ferris is no socialist; he does not believe that inequalities are to disappear; he takes exceptions to Edward Bellamy and Henry George; he attempts "to make peace between the extreme left and the extreme right." Whatever be thought of his proposal, he has at least written a wholesome critique on some conventional ideas both of charity and of justice. (T. S. Leach & Co., Philadelphia.)

MISCELLANEOUS

In collaboration with M. Georges Darien, Mr. Joseph McCabe has produced a timely book entitled *Can We Disarm?* (H. S. Stone & Co., Chicago.) The question is answered largely from the French standpoint. The authors pay much attention to the obstacles to disarmament; we do not think that they give sufficient consideration to the political and economic advantages.

It is impossible to read even cursorily any book of Froebel's and not be impressed with the marvelous insight that realized the unity and the diversity—the unity in diversity—of life. It was this larger conception that revealed to Froebel the place of the child in the home, in the community, in the world; it was this realization that enabled him to originate a philosophy of education for little children that compelled the home, the school, and the church to realize in this nineteenth century that the child is the seed from which all activity, all progress, all government, grow. *Education by Development*, translated by Josephine Jarvis, is the

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second part of "Pedagogics of the Kindergarten," by Frederick Froebel. Dr. William T. Harris, the editor, believes it to be one of the most important of Froebel's works, holding that in this volume he throws further light on his theory and has made an exposition of his preceding works. This volume completes the translation of Froebel's original works. No home library is complete without Froebel's books. They are a necessary part of the education in fatherhood and motherhood, and in no sense is their value merely technical. They show the spiritual side of the valuation of the child to those who are responsible for its existence, for its culture. The child becomes in this new light, not a piece of property, but an expression of God, whose development depends on the perfection of its environment and the liberty given it to unfold the divinity within. (The International Education Series. D. Appleton & Co., New York.)

Under the title *Psychology and Life*, Professor Münsterberg, Harvard's well-known specialist in psychology, has included six essays given to the public during the last year, and marked by a unity of conception which fitly brings them together in one volume controlled throughout by a fundamental thought and aim. This aim is "the separation of the conceptions of psychology from the conceptions of our real life." The first paper, "Psychology and Life," characterizes the general problem of the whole. We shall speak more fully upon it in another issue. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.)

Half a dozen short papers on ethical and educational topics have been included by Mr. Norman Bridge in a volume entitled *The Penalties of Taste, and Other Essays*. Mr. Bridge is an observer of life who has attentively noted its *corrigenda*, and speaks to the point in sensible criticisms, without exaggeration or cynicism, and in good literary style. In particular, the essays on "Bashfulness" and "The Nerves of the Modern Child" deserve as wide reading as they can get. (Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago.)

Dr. D. F. Smith, Lecturer on Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Louisville, publishes *The Philosophy of Memory and Other Essays*, viz., The Philosophy of Emphasis, The Functions of the Fluid Wedge, The Birth of a Planet, and the Laws of River Overflow. We can only notice the first, which assumes memory to be the persistence of undulations set up in the brain by the vibrations of light, sound, etc.—a hypothesis we do not care to criticise so long as the author recognizes what is of main importance—the conscious self, which selects and attends to what it will among the objects of memory. But the undulation theory is drawn out to extreme tenuity in accounting for natural religious sentiment as a response to the gentle vibrations received in the invisible light of the remotest stars. (John P. Morton & Co., Louisville.)

Books I Have Read offers to a systematic person a chance to record such facts about the volumes he reads as those relating to title, author, publisher, date and place of reading, page references, comment, and quotations—all in an orderly fashion and with index. (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.)

Books Received

For the week ending May 12

THE BAKER & TAYLOR CO., NEW YORK

Pierson, Arthur T. George Müller of Bristol. $1.50.
Winterburn, Florence Hull. From the Child's Standpoint. $1.25. Nursery Ethics. $1.

J. B. COWDIN, NEW YORK

Robertson, John Freeland. Creep Afore Ye Gang.

E. P. DUTTON & CO., NEW YORK

Badenoch, L. N. True Tales of the Insects. $3.

GINN & CO., BOSTON

De Moratín, Leandro Fernández. El Sí de las Niñas. Edited by J. D. M. Ford, Ph.D. 55 cts.

HODDER & STOUGHTON, LONDON, ENGLAND

Rowntree, Joseph, and Arthur Sherwell. The Temperance Problem and Social Reform.

GEORGE W. JACOBS & CO., PHILADELPHIA

Miel, Charles F. B., D.D. A Soul's Pilgrimage.

M. W. KNAPP, CINCINNATI, O.

Hills, Rev. A. M. Food for Lambs.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., NEW YORK

Lang, Andrew. Myth, Ritual, and Religion. 2 Vols. $2.50.
Dexter, T. F. G., and A. H. Garlick. Psychology in the Schoolroom. $1.50.

THE MACMILLAN CO., NEW YORK

The Works of Shakespeare. Edited by C. H. Herford. 10 Vols. Vol. III. $1.50.
Dutton, Samuel T. Social Phases of Education in the School and the Home. $1.25.
Harnack, Adolf. Thoughts on the Present Position of Protestantism. $1.
Saunders, Thomas Bailey. The Quest of Faith.
Modern Reader's Bible. Bible Stories (New Testament). Edited by Richard G. Moulton.
Blaisdell, Etta Austin, and Mary Frances Blaisdell. Child Life.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK

A Life for Liberty. Anti-Slavery and Other Letters of Sallie Holley. Edited by John White Chadwick. $1.50.
Johnson, Jesse. Testimony of the Sonnets. $1.
Wood, John Seymour. Yale Yarns. 50 cts.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK

Jennings, N. A. A Texas Ranger. $1.25.
Brown, Helen Dawes. A Civilian Attaché. 75 cts.
Fuller, Caroline M. Across the Campus. $1.50.

UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR, BOSTON

Meyer, Rev. F. B. I Promise. 50 cts.

THOMAS WHITTAKER, NEW YORK

MacDonagh, Michael. Irish Life and Character. $1.25.

J. O. WRIGHT & CO., NEW YORK

Marvin, Frederic Rowland. Christ Among the Cattle. (A Sermon.)

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The Religious World

Professor Briggs Ordained

The Rev. Charles A. Briggs, D.D., was ordained to the priesthood of the Protestant Episcopal Church, by Bishop Potter, in the Pro-Cathedral in New York on Sunday, May 14. No protest was made during the service. There was a large congregation present, including a number of clergymen prominent in different Churches. The candidate was presented by the Rev. Cornelius B. Smith, D.D., and the sermon was preached by the Rev. George William Douglass, D.D. Bishop Potter has published a letter concerning the case, in which he says that, after the approval of the candidate by the Standing Committee of the Diocese, he had no discretion in the case. His duty then became mandatory. After affirming that he was clearly in the line of what is required of him in ordaining Dr. Briggs, since the Committee had not withdrawn its approval, Bishop Potter went further, and showed very clearly that the objections to Professor Briggs were largely the result of ignorance, and that many of the views held by him have long been held by distinguished theologians both of the Episcopalian and Anglican communions.

St. Mark's Centennial

St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal Church in New York is one of the oldest churches in this city, and for many years was one of the wealthiest and most influential. It was the church home of many of the Knickerbocker families. More recently it has been known as the church of which the Rev. Dr. Rylance was rector. It is now far down town, being located at Second Avenue and Tenth Street. This church has within a few days celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. The sermon was delivered by the Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D., who especially deplored the fact that in New York there is so little reverence and even respect for places around which cluster memories which always should be held sacred. Referring to St. Paul's Church on Broadway, he is reported to have said: "It requires constant watching to save that from destruction. We have barbarians among us who covet that for business purposes. If they had their way, St. Paul's would disappear, and there would spring up where it stood others of those repulsive and horrible structures which make our streets mere cañons." He then went on to say that it was a relief to turn from the irreverence of the business spirit and celebrate the anniversary of an institution which had behind it ten decades of continuous life. Dr. Dix is correct. The tendency of business to invade all the sacred places of our great cities should be resisted, and there is no better way to begin than by inculcating a spirit of reverence, and emphasizing both the dignity and glory of worthy age.

Commencement at Lancaster

The Theological Seminary at Lancaster, Pa., is under the direction of the three Eastern Synods of the German Reformed Church of the United States. This denomination is especially strong in Pennsylvania. Its Theological Seminary is perhaps best known by the fame of four of its distinguished professors. John W. Nevin, D.D., was long connected with the institution, and afterward was President of Franklin and Marshall College, with which it is affiliated. Philip Schaff was "imported" by the Seminary, and for twenty years was one of its professors; Thomas G. Apple, D.D., who has recently died, was widely known; while its present President, E. V. Gerhart, D.D., who is also Professor of Systematic Theology, is recognized throughout the land as a theologian of singular power and ample scholarship. The Seminary has fifty-nine students, of whom twenty-six are in its junior class. Most of the students had college training before coming to the Seminary. All but three members of the junior class are college-bred men. The commencement of this Seminary was held during the week beginning May 7. On that day the President, Dr. Gerhart, preached the Baccalaureate sermon, choosing for his subject "The Childlike Spirit Essential to a Knowledge of the Deep

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Things in Theology." The sermon before the graduating class was delivered by the Rev. Amory H. Bradford, of Montclair, N. J., whose subject was "The Age of Faith." The graduates numbered nineteen. This institution exercises a wide influence in the Middle States and the West, and was never more prosperous. Its principal building is one of the most perfect for its purposes among the theological schools of our country.

A Diamond Jubilee

The diamond jubilee of the American Sunday-School Union will be celebrated in Philadelphia on the 24th and the 25th of May. A long list of prominent speakers have promised to take part in the celebration. The work of the Society, so far as it can be set forth in statistics, may be summarized as follows: "During seventy-five years 100,928 Sunday-schools have been organized, containing 578,680 teachers and 4,070,348 scholars; 224,844 cases of aid to schools, having 13,333,968 members. Nearly four schools a day organized for every day of the last seventy-five years. Value of publications distributed by sales and gifts, over $9,000,000."

Bishop Scarborough on Divorce

The one hundred and fifteenth annual convention of the Diocese of New Jersey was held at Princeton, New Jersey, on May 9. Bishop Scarborough, in his opening address, dwelt upon two subjects which are now prominent in the thought of Christian people. His utterance on divorce was outspoken and positive. He said in substance: "The evil has grown to such enormous proportions that the very foundations of society are being weakened, and marriage is looked upon by many as only a temporary bargain, with no binding force higher than convenience. Some shocking instances recently, among those who are commonly called the better class of society, have shown how very lenient public opinion can be in condoning the sin and shame of those who deliberately set at naught the laws of God and man. I am happy in the belief that an ever-increasing number of the clergy and laity of our Church are determined to close the door against the remarriage of divorced persons under any and all circumstances. Doubtless there will be cases of real hardship by the enforcement of a law so strict and unyielding, but there seems to be no middle ground, no room for comparison. The public conscience needs to be instructed as to the sanctity of the marriage vow, and our Church should proclaim from the housetops that nothing but death can sunder such a solemn compact, and that no human statute can repeal or annul the law of God. No power on earth can compel any clergyman to sanction such a marriage by his presence or to give the Church's blessing. The Church feels that God does not bless separation, though it may be and often is a merciful provision; but remarriage of either man or wife during the lifetime of the other partner is to me a thing abhorrent."

The Crisis in the English Church

Bishop Scarborough, in the same address, spoke his mind concerning the crisis in the Anglican communion, in words which are so sane and true that we reproduce them for our readers. They have the more weight because they come from one who in so many ways is in sympathy with the English Church. They are the words of a friend. He said:

The relations existing between the Church of England and our own Church are so intimate that what concerns the welfare of one cannot be a matter of indifference to the other. The grave crisis through which that Church has been passing of late has excited the deepest interest on this side of the Atlantic. The union of Church and State seems to us, in our freedom, a strange anomaly. We would think it quite beyond possibility to seek the interpretation of a rubric at the hands of the New Jersey Legislature or from the House of Representatives in Washington, but in her present condition the Church of England is subject, in even matters ecclesiastical, to acts of Parliament. This, it seems to me, is the main cause of her present troubles as a National Church. Brawlers feel at liberty to employ the methods of the politician in manifesting their opposition to what they dislike in the worship or polity of the Church. If it were possible to cast off the civil yoke and retain her endowments, the Church would be infinitely the gainer by the separation of interests so diverse. It must be confessed, in all fairness, that some who have despised the plain letter of the law, introducing ceremonies which are not in the Book of Common Prayer, have given occasion to the enemy to blaspheme and bring shame to the Church which they vowed to serve and obey. Terms are used, especially in reference to the Holy Communion, which are alien and not in harmony with Anglican traditions and Anglican standards. What the end of the

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controversy will be it is hard to tell. Every lover of peace must deplore the bitterness and hate engendered and pray earnestly that we may be spared from any similar trial.

Princeton Seminary

The eighty-seventh Commencement of Princeton Theological Seminary was held on May 9, in Miller Chapel. A large class was graduated. The degrees were conferred by the Rev. J. T. Smith, D.D., the President of the Board of Directors, and the address to the members of the graduating class was by the Rev. W. H. Green, D.D., the venerable and greatly honored Professor of Old Testament Literature. The following new trustees were elected: the Rev. David Magie, D.D., of Paterson, N. J.; the Rev. William M. Knox, of New Brunswick, N. J.; Henry S. Moore, of Haddonfield, N. J.; and Nathan Tooker, of Orange, N. J. Princeton keeps its numerical leadership among the theological seminaries of the Presbyterian Church. It is affiliated with the University and yet independent. It is openly Presbyterian, but the other departments of the University insist with great earnestness that they are not denominational.

Free from Debt

Not long ago we noted the discouraging condition of the treasuries of some of the Presbyterian Boards. It now gives us much pleasure to report that the condition has entirely changed. The following figures are furnished us by reliable authorities. They are an occasion for peculiar congratulation to all who are interested in missions: "On April 1 the Board of Foreign Missions needed $252,000 to close its year free from debt. On April 27 it needed $21,000. It closed its books last Monday $10,000 ahead. It will therefore be able to report to the General Assembly no indebtedness and a comfortable balance to start the new fiscal year. To the last General Assembly the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions reported a debt of $167,000. The Rev. Dr. John Dixon was made Assistant Secretary, and the work of clearing off this amount was begun. New York Presbyterians were counted on for $30,000. The whole amount of the indebtedness has been raised, and the current work has been sustained, so that the Home Board, like the Foreign, goes to the General Assembly at Minneapolis with a clear balance-sheet. The total contributions of Presbyterians this year through these two organizations are about $1,800,000."

The Organists' Guild

Among the purposes of the American Guild of Organists are the advancement of the cause of worthy church music; elevation of the status of church organists; the institution of a system of examinations and certificates and of a permanent home in New York City for the benefit of organists throughout the country. At the Guild's ninth public service an address was delivered by the Rev. Dr. E. B. Coe which deserves attention especially from all interested in the progress of good music in non-liturgical churches. Of course, as Dr. Coe said, where there is an accepted and uniform liturgy consecrated and dear by long usage, the organist's task is comparatively simple, but the majority of Protestant Christians in America are not accustomed to liturgical forms, and Dr. Coe offers his own, the Dutch Church, as an example of individual independence. Its ancient liturgy is now used only by a few of its churches. The Protestant reaction "has lasted longer than we sometimes like to admit." There is now, however, a twofold tendency. First, there is a demand for more music and for better music. Secondly, there is a desire for a more or less responsive service, in which the congregation shall audibly unite. The hope of giving greater dignity to the worship of non-liturgical churches lies in the furthering of this twofold desire. It may easily be done if the clergyman and the choir understand each other and work in harmony. The idea of worship must, of course, be dominant in the minds of both. The sermon need not be disparaged; on the contrary, the reverent rendering of uplifting music will bring the people into an attitude in which they will listen to the sermon with sympathy. To secure this sympathy the music must be devotional and devoutly performed; it must not be sensational. The desire of self-display must be suppressed; the choir must identify itself with the worshiping assembly instead of posing before them. For the rendering of a service satisfying alike the most fervent spirit and the most cultivated taste, an intelligent minister and a religious organist are necessary.

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Correspondence

The Georgia Atrocity and Southern Opinion

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Among the various iniquities of misstatement which have characterized the discussion of the recent atrocities in the State of Georgia I note the following, and I beg leave to protest against them:

"The horror of finger-chopping and heart-cutting was the work of the flower of Southern chivalry. It was the revelation of the character of the product of centuries of education, self-government, and training in respect for law and order." See editorial in the New York "Tribune," reprinted in the semi-weekly edition of April 28.

"How much above the ignorant negro ravisher is the white, full of gospel and schools and church sociables, who cuts the negro's heart and liver out, and divides them into small pieces among his friends?" See editorial in the New York "Evening Post," reprinted in the semi-weekly edition of April 24.

Is this the spirit of fair and helpful discrimination? Are such generalizations the real instruments of remedy? Does the North know nothing of the mob-spirit and the mob-power? Do this spirit and power ever represent the normal and average elements of Anglo-Saxon civilization? As a Southern man, the rector of a church of more than a thousand souls, located in the ancient capital of the Confederacy, in a State where all the elements of the race-problem are represented with peculiar emphasis, I protest (simply in the interest of fairness and sectional amity) against such misrepresentations as I have quoted. I know of no man who approves these Georgia butcheries. On every hand, from the representatives of "Southern chivalry," I have heard only expressions of loathing and shame and horror. In the South as in the North, there are bad men and good. Society here, as elsewhere, is a fabric woven of coarser and finer elements. Shall we say that the flower of Northern manhood are partakers in the hideous and disgusting infamy of the sweatshop and the Bowery "dive"? God forbid! In a few instances the better men of Southern communities (as in the famous New Orleans case) have, under peculiar conditions, and after the technicalities of law had balked the purposes of justice, resorted to lynch methods. But this Georgia occurrence was no such case. It was a sickening and excuseless orgy of torture. It was the work of elements which minister in every section to the forces of humiliation and depravity. And one of the most prominent figures, at the very front of the rabble, was that of a Northern man. To say with the "Tribune" that "the horror of finger-chopping and heart-cutting was the work of the flower of Southern chivalry" is simply to invite the suggestion that the riot of mendacity in the partisan journalism of the North is about as excuseless and as conscienceless as the frenzy of the Southern mob.

The better men of the South are trying worthily to discharge the duties of leadership. The South welcomes the counsel (and even the criticism) that speaks under the motive of helpfulness. But I declare, deliberately and seriously, that such words as I have quoted serve only, as forces of senseless irritation, to strengthen the hands of the lawless and to darken the fury of the mob. Lynch-law must go. But it will go only as it has gone elsewhere—with the increase of general social stability in the rural districts, with the deepening and extending power of the thriving cities of the South, with the establishment of legal reforms which will excuse the victim of the negro wretch from the hideous ordeal of testimony and cross-examination, in open court, as to the facts of the crime and as to the identity of the criminal. It may go slowly, but its abandonment is inevitable. And it will go just in proportion as the South is permitted to solve its own problems and to apply its own solutions.

I know that the peculiarly brutal circumstances which have attended recent lynchings in the South have created the impression that we are going "from bad to worse." Paradox though it may seem, I think that these atrocities are (in one sense) the direct indications of progress. They are due to the fact that the responsible men of the South are more and more refusing to have anything to do with mob

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methods. The presence of a few strong men at the ordinary lynching has heretofore secured some semblance of decency and order. They were the restraining element, and that element has been withdrawn. It may seem that, if this interpretation be true to the case, these men should return to the mob and take its methods again in charge. This is not so. Such scenes as those in Georgia are working their own remedy, and they are everywhere discrediting the lynch-law argument in its every phase. The mob-spirit is a form of madness. It is a species of social hysteria, complex in its causes, demanding a certain breadth and complexity of treatment; but this will yield to nothing more readily than to such an exhibition of its own results as was made in the disgusting animalism of these Georgia executioners. The State of Georgia is not represented by such creatures. It is a State whose people are, on the whole, as orderly, as just, as fully characterized by religious sincerity and civic probity as the people of any State. They are dealing with this problem. They alone can solve it. The Southern schools, the Southern pulpit, and the Southern press are here, and they are for the most part on the right side. (The only out-and-out defense of this last horror which I have seen appeared in the "Review," of Elkhart, Indiana.) The Atlanta "Constitution" (some words from which were made the text of the "Tribune's" criticism), under the date of April 26, gives editorial expression to such pertinent considerations as these:

"With the facts fresh in their mind, the crowd sought, in its blind and unlawful way, not only to avenge the crime but to make its punishment so hideously complete as to stand as a warning to future criminals for all time to come. This is the explanation; *but thoughtful and law-abiding citizens here do not receive it as an excuse.* They have no pity for the brute who was tortured, but they look beyond that to the tendency of this spirit of the mob and to its effect on society in the future."

"What is to be the end of it? This is a question that concerns the very life of the law in Georgia."

EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY.

St. John's Rectory, Montgomery, Ala.

Was Myles Standish a Roman Catholic?

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In The Outlook of April 15 you printed an article by R. S. Forbes attempting to throw light on the question, "Was Myles Standish a Roman Catholic?" The article seems to have been based on the assumption that Standish "never associated himself with the Plymouth Church either in Leyden, Plymouth, or Duxbury." In considering the question treated by him, Mr. Forbes has overlooked an important piece of evidence, which stands alone in its direct bearing on the mooted point. In the latter part of the first decade after the Plymouth settlement in 1620, a few members of the Pilgrim colony took up and occupied lands across the harbor in what is now the town of Duxbury, and of these Standish was one. In the Plymouth colony records, under date of April 2, 1632, may be found the following entry:

The names of those which promise to remove their families to live in the town in the winter time, that they may the better repair to the worship of God.

JOHN ALDEN
CAPT. STANDISH
JONATHAN BREWSTER
THOMAS PRENCE

I quote this entry without comment, leaving your readers to attach to the evidence it furnishes such weight as in their minds it seems to deserve. Permit me to say that, so far from regretting a demonstration of the Roman Catholic faith of Standish, I should hail it as conclusive proof of that liberality which I have always believed was a marked characteristic in the character of the Pilgrims.

W. T. D.

Plymouth, Mass.

Notes and Queries

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.—*It is seldom possible to answer any inquiry in the next issue after its receipt. Those who find expected answers late in coming will, we hope, bear in mind the impediments arising from the constant pressure of many subjects upon our limited space. Communications should always bear the writer's name and address.*

Among the details of a recent scandalous divorce case in New York society, the newspapers state that, after the Court's decree that the unfaithful wife should not marry again in this State during her (divorced) husband's lifetime, the guilty woman and her paramour met at the parsonage of the pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Greenwich, Conn., and were united by the pastor in wedlock. The wedding ceremony was performed

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(presumably) according to Christian usages, and the blessing of the Christian God was asked upon the man and woman proven guilty of a heinous offense. Is such a deed allowed to pass without comment in the Congregational Church, and does that Church provide no discipline or punishment for one of its ministers capable of such an act? N.

In the Congregational denomination every church is absolutely independent, and every minister is responsible only to his own church. It should be said for the Congregational minister of Greenwich that, according to report, he knew nothing of the circumstances and conditions of the parties who applied to him to perform the marriage ceremony until just before the ceremony was to take place, when he felt that it was too late for him, with honor to the obligations which he had assumed, to refuse to go on with that service. It is also to be said that the prohibition in New York State is legally enforceable only within that State, and the marriage ceremony was legal in the State of Connecticut. In our judgment, however, no Christian minister should have performed the ceremony if he were aware of the facts, and this incident makes it clear that no Christian minister ought to arrange to perform a marriage ceremony for strangers without making inquiry into the facts. The whole proceeding furnishes not only a serious argument in favor of the nationalization of our laws concerning marriage and divorce, but a serious indictment of the moral standards which prevail in a certain section of wealthy if not aristocratic society in America. When wealth tramples under foot the laws of the State as well as the conventions of society and the considerations of morality which ordinarily prevail in reputable communities, it is not strange that lawlessness in other forms less deleterious to society is exhibited in other quarters.

1. What does Dr. Abbott think of the old theory that all who do not accept Christ, and who do not mean to reject him, will be cast away with the vile and wicked? 2. Dr. Abbott says, page 144, "New Streams in Old Ghannels," "There are no forces of nature—there is only one force." How does he explain accidents, destructive tornadoes, earthquakes, etc., according to the theory that "all is in God and God in all, and God is not outside of or apart from his creation"? 3. Did believers before Christ receive the Holy Spirit same as now? J. M. K.

1. "The old theory" is hardly stated with exactness. It regarded only those as castaway who willfully rejected Christ. Dr. Abbott thinks that very many who have rejected Christ in the form in which he was presented by a corrupt church or an irrational or inhuman theology have not rejected the real Christ of truth and grace, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as castaway. 2. The various forces of nature are manifestations of the one omnipresent Divine Energy. God has brought sensitive life into existence in the midst of these forces. That they cause suffering will raise no doubt of his goodness till it can be shown that he could have made us capable of pleasure without being capable of pain, or capable of self-development by any other or better method than the conflicting experience of pain and pleasure. And natural calamities are easier to bear if God's agency is recognized in them than if it is not. 3. Yes; see Psalm li., 11; Isaiah lxiii., 10, 11; 2 Peter i., 21. You probably have in mind John vii., 39, but that refers, as the text intimates, to the special character of the Christian revelation of the Spirit, as the Spirit of Christ (1 Peter i., 11).

In a recent history of the United States by Julian Hawthorne, Vol. I., page 86, the author, in extenuation of the persecutions inflicted on the Quakers in Massachusetts during the seventeenth century, says: "It must not be forgotten that the Quakers of this period were very different from those who afterward populated the City of Brotherly Love under Penn. They were fanatics of the most extravagant and incorrigible sort; loud-mouthed, frantic, and disorderly, and, instead of observing modesty in their garb, their women not seldom ran naked through the streets of horrified Boston in broad daylight." This delineation of the Quakers of that period is so different from my previous conception of them that I write to ask if Mr. Hawthorne's statements are sustained by the weight of authority.

C. L. W.

We interpret Mr. Hawthorne's quoted words as characterizing, not all of that name, but those who provoked severe proceedings. Dr. L. W. Bacon, in his "History of American Christianity," p. 101, mentions "their overt offenses against the State, disorderly behavior, public indecency, contempt of court, sedition." For particulars which bear out this general statement see Palfrey's "History of New England." Dr. Palfrey, as a Unitarian clergyman, cannot be accused of prejudice in favor of the Puritan authorities. But

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Mr. Hawthorne, in speaking of fanatical women, has misrepresented very rare occurrences as frequent.

If the baptism of Christ and the Apostles was immersion, would it not be wise and kind for those who have practiced infant sprinkling to acknowledge that the Baptists are right in the position they have long held, and the Congregationalists and Presbyterians at least, whose views of doctrine are identical with the Baptists, to propose a union, under some other name if Baptist would not be acceptable, and so decrease the number of denominations by so much? M.

So far as the acknowledgment above suggested is concerned, it has been repeatedly made by representative scholars. So far as the proposed union is concerned, it seems neither feasible nor important. Agreement on such points amounts to little. Diversity of denominational forms is not an evil thing in the variegated life of the world. Christian or church unity consists in a common aspiration and united effort to realize God's righteousness among men. Endeavor for unity in anything less fundamental than this is seeking the shadow instead of the substance.

In your Notes and Queries column, under date of April 29, 1899, in answer to "G.'s" query, "Does Dr. Abbott accept as historical the Gospel accounts of the resurrection and ascension?" you answer, "Dr. Abbott does accept as historical the Gospel accounts of the resurrection and ascension. Whether in the resurrection Christ appeared in his physical body, or whether," etc. The point I wish to call attention to is the account of the resurrection given in the last chapter of St. Luke's Gospel. It is there stated that Christ appeared in a physical form—can there be any doubt of it after reading St. Luke's Gospel? And, further, if Christ's body was—as is stated in Luke's Gospel—"flesh and bones," how do you explain the ascension? J.

The terms of Dr. Abbott's reply very clearly indicate that, while accepting the accounts of the resurrection and ascension as historical, he at the same time recognized inconsistencies in them, which he did not profess to be able to explain, while convinced of the reality of the main fact attested by all in common.

Favor me with answers to the following questions: 1. Why baptism for the dead? (1 Corinthians xv., 29). 2. What means 1 Corinthians xi., 10? 3. Is the re-revised, perfected translation of the New Testament by the American translators yet obtainable? *

1. The most plausible explanation is that it was a vicarious baptism, a confession of Christ by baptism in the place of those who had intended it, but had died before carrying out the intention which was thus fulfilled for them by those who acted in this matter as their executors. 2. Enigmatical: a plausible explanation is that no indecorum ought to be exhibited in presence of the unseen angelic witnesses of Christian worship. The veil, as a mark of legitimation, is tersely termed "authority" or "power." 3. It is expected to be published next autumn.

1. Kindly give the view of the Atonement now generally held by the best modern scholarship. 2. Is there any sense in which Christ can be said to atone for the sins of men to-day? W. W. B.

1. The Atonement is simply the reconciliation which Christ effects of man to God. See Romans v., 11, Revised Version. This is effected in conscience through Christ's revelation of the sacrificial spirit of Divine Love suffering with sinners and for them, to restore them from sin to righteousness. 2. In this sense, as often as the effect above described is produced in conscience.

What was the actual fate of Jephthah's daughter? H. B. S.

The view of the event taken by all scholars is thus expressed in Professor Cornill's "History of the People of Israel:" "The hero was forced by a too hasty vow to sacrifice upon the altar his only child, a beloved daughter."

In the issue of April 29 is a query concerning the authorship and personality of the author of the hymn beginning, "We would see Jesus, for the shadows lengthen." In your answer you name among others Miss Anna B. Warner in Mr. Sankey's "Christian Endeavor Hymn-Book." The latter name is correct. Miss Warner, the author of the "Melody of the Twenty-third Psalm," "Wayfarers' Hymns," and other works, composed it. I have already spoken to the Century Company about their mistake, and they intend to correct it in their next edition of the Episcopal Hymnal. Miss Anna B. Warner is a younger sister of Miss Susan Warner, of the "Wide, Wide World," and lives opposite West Point, on Constitution Island. L. L. L.

I would like to know if you or any of your subscribers could give me a copy of a little poem you published five or six years ago, commencing with these lines:

"Sorrow came to me unbidden,
As it is her wont to do,
Saying, as she crossed the threshold,
Is my sister Joy with you"?

X.

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FOR THE LITTLE PEOPLE

Polly Washes Dishes

By Eleanor W. F. Bates

When mamma went to walk one day,
And Jane felt far from jolly
Because she had an aching tooth,
Who offered—who but Polly?—
To wash the dishes all alone?
For dishes are such troubles:
But first she took her bubble-pipe,
And blew dishwater bubbles.

She burnt her little finger-tip,
And stood outside the door
To cool it off, and play a while,
And then she played some more.
She dropped a dish, and Jane cried out,
"O Polly, what's the matter?"
And Polly said serenely, "Why,
I guess I broke a platter."

She made a circle on the floor
Of saucers that looked pretty,
And poured a little milk in each
Before she called the kitty.
She cut her thumb upon a knife,
But this was not so funny
As when she ate two oranges
And spread them both with honey.

She took the tea that mamma left,
And fed it to her dolly;
But when she saw Jane looking on,
She dropped the spoon, did Polly,
And turned her back, and hung her head,
And murmured all her wishes:
"I am so hot and tired, Jane,
I vish *you'd* vash ve dishes!"

Some Scenes in the Philippines[1]

The people of the Philippine Islands are of many classes, some of them intelligent and some very ignorant. The people in the lowlands of Mindoro, one of the islands, can only count to ten and repeat. The learned mathematicians can count to twenty by counting their fingers and toes. Most of the people can only count to three. A traveler who knows these people tells us that when a man who guided the party through the forests, or worked for them, was dismissed to return in a number of days, knots were tied in a string, and the man was told to untie one knot each day, and when all were untied it was time, he knew, to return to the Americans.

The people are like children, and they expect to be punished for doing wrong, but are very angry if punished by those who hire them when they think they do not deserve it. This traveler tells us that a man he punished for telling a lie sulked for days. A few days after, the man was carrying his employer over a stream; he stubbed his toe, and threw the traveler over his head into the water. The traveler laughed, knowing what a ridiculous picture he must make in his dripping and muddy suit that had been spotless a moment before. The Filipino acted strangely all the evening—so strangely as to attract the traveler's attention. At bedtime the man came to him and besought him to whip him then, as it made him nervous to wait. Letting him fall in the stream the man thought was wrong, though he was greatly amazed when he was whipped for telling the lie, and resented it; he was ashamed, not because he told the lie, but because he was found out.

The ponies in the Philippines are short-legged. The forests have few roads, and those are poor. In going through the forests, here and there great trunks of trees are on the ground. The ponies have never been taught to jump over these. They put their fore feet on the top, slide them to the ground on the other side; then they balance on the trunk a moment, and by a peculiar movement push themselves over. The idea of teaching them to jump over has never occurred to the owners, who use them in the woods daily.

A baby is carried in a cloth hung over its mother's hips. When it is four

[1] The facts and incidents related are taken from Dean C. Worcester's book "The Philippine Islands," published by the Macmillan Company, of New York.

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months old, it is put in a bag with an opening left for the head; now either parent carries the baby.

This traveler tells us of a beautiful habit of some of the people of the Philippines. The civilized people of the Philippines are Roman Catholics. In the homes of the true Catholics in the evening a vesper service is held. Before a picture or image of a saint every member of the family kneels and prays. After the devotions are over, each child kisses the hand of the father and mother and wishes them "good-evening," bows to each of his brothers and sisters and the guests who may be present, and repeats the salutation "Good-evening." The mother and father greet each other and the guests in the same way.

The Filipinos are fond of music, and easily learn any music they hear. An American party who were traveling through the Philippine Islands made friends with the natives. In the evenings the Americans whistled for the natives and sang college songs. At one place they stayed four weeks, and met many of the people intimately. They left the village and returned several weeks after. When they returned they found that the head of the village, called *Capitan*, was the man who had been the bandmaster on their previous visit. The man called at once, and told them he had a great surprise for them. They must be at the front of their house when the religious procession passed on its way to the church the next morning. When the band reached the travelers' house the next morning, the Capitan gave the signal and the band began playing "Johnny, Get Your Gun," a song that the Americans had whistled for them. It was played solemnly, as if it were music suited to a religious service. These travelers found many of the people very warm-hearted and generous. Some of them were as easily frightened as little children, and were as amused as little children would be with the gifts of beads or pieces of bright metal.

Two Chums

One of the chums is a street-sweeper in the white canvas uniform worn by the men employed in the Street-Cleaning Department in New York. The street assigned to this man is a short one of three blocks in a very quiet neighborhood. One morning there came with this man a small boy, whose head was bound up as if he had a toothache. All day he trotted with the carrier into which the sweepings are put. He and the sweeper, who was his father, ate their luncheon together, and chatted while the father smoked his pipe. For two or three days the little boy appeared with the father, and worked all day, sometimes with the sweeper, sometimes the scraper, and sometimes the shovel. Small as he was, he was able to keep the street cleaner than his father had done alone. Papers were picked up and deposited in the carrier at once. Now the small boy appears about half-past three. He looks critically at the street, sees at once where he can make it look better, and goes to work. All the time the man and boy are busily talking, and from the gestures it would seem as if the work they were doing was the subject. A delivery-wagon stopped in front of a house yesterday, and the man dropped excelsior and straw in the street from the parcel. The small boy discovered it, and when the man came out of the house the boy pointed at it and looked indignant. The man was about to stoop and pick it up, but the small boy did so instead, and carried it to the carrier. The man on the delivery-wagon looked as if he would be more careful in the future. The sweeper listened to the boy as he told what had happened, but the man shook his head, as if saying, "He may be more careful, but I doubt it."

The chums have no idea of how much pleasure they are giving, not only by a street kept perfectly clean, but because of the constant presence of two dear, chummy friends, one eight, one forty years old.

A Horse the Leader

We hear many stories of the intelligence of horses. One told in one of the Chicago papers shows how a horse helped to catch a thief. A policeman discovered that two men were robbing a store. The police tried to catch them, but they got into a wagon standing near by and drove off. Later the horse and wagon were found in the outskirts of the city. The horse was driven to the police station, and the next day a detective and a policeman drove the horse with a loose rein—that is, they let him go as he would, turn-

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ing corners without direction. He turned at last into an alley, and stopped before a stable. In the stable they found the thief. This stable was where the horse lived—his home. A few years ago a horse found in the same city with a lot of things in his wagon that the police knew had been stolen was allowed to go through the streets in the same way. He took the police to a house in a lonely neighborhood in which quantities of stolen goods were found. The horse had been in the habit of going to that house, and knew how to get there.

The Home Club

The International Council of Women

The International Council of Women will meet in Westminster Hall, London, June 26, and continue in session until July 4. The object of the body, as stated in the constitution, is to provide a means of communication between women's organizations throughout the world. The purpose of the Council is to confer upon all questions relating to the welfare of the family. The International Council, as its name indicates, is composed of National Councils admitted on approval of the executive officers of the International body. Each National Council pays to the Treasurer of the International body the sum of one hundred dollars every five years; this sum to be paid in yearly installments. The President and two delegates from every National Council constitute the voting body of the International Council.

The International body held its first meeting in Washington, D.C., in 1888. Mrs. Fawcett was the first President. At the same time the National Council of Women of the United States was formed, with Miss Frances Willard as President. The International Council next met in 1893 in Chicago. It is said that the representatives of thirty nationalities were present at this Council. Many of the delegates returned to their own countries, and formed National Councils to affiliate with the International Council. In the interval between the convening of the whole body, the officers appointed have held meetings and arranged the programme for business and for entertaining the delegates. The meetings for 1899 will be held in Westminster Town Hall. Two sessions will be held daily. Tickets may be obtained by addressing Miss Teresa F. Wilson, 20 Motcomb Street, London, S.W. The preamble of the constitution of the International Council of Women states its purpose:

> We, women of all nations, sincerely believing that the best good of humanity will be advanced by greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and of the State, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers, to further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law. The Golden Rule—Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you.

The Home Mirror

The public manners of the Americans, if gauged by those of many of the children observed in public, will long be the subject for comment.

Two girls of fourteen and fifteen were present at a church wedding and seated in the front row of the gallery. Large columns obstructed the view of the chancel at certain points, even for those in the front row, who could see only if their neighbors kept their seats. These two girls, well dressed, stood up in the front seats. A lady asked them if they would kindly sit down when the bride came, as they obstructed the view of the chancel. Neither replied. When the procession came up the aisle, they leaned forward and refused to be seated, thus shutting off completely the view of the chancel from about ten people, all invited guests.

After the procession had left the church one of the ladies stopped and spoke to them.

"You were rude to-day, and prevented several people from seeing the bride, and she was a friend."

"We don't care," was the response.

"You will be ashamed when you are older."

"We don't care; we had a right to stand if we wanted to."

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A young girl who saw the incident and heard the reply said, "That's a specimen of home training."

"I do not think those children will repeat that experience. They will go home and tell their mothers, and a lesson will follow."

"Don't you believe it. They will tell their mothers, and the mothers will say, 'That's right; don't you be bossed by anybody; stand up if you want to. Let them get there in time to get front seats if they want to see.'"

The incident recalled a conversation, or rather discussion, that took place not long ago as to whether selfishness or thoughtlessness caused the greatest discomfort.

No person can study the manners of the people who work and live under the shop and tenement conditions and not decide that the prevalent manners are a natural expression of the unceasing struggle to hold one's own—a part of the competition which makes their life's burden. Standing aside for others means to these people loss of time, of opportunity, of money. But how can one defend disregard of others by those whose dress indicates that they have leisure for acts of courtesy, of kindness, of regard for the rights of others?

Is not thoughtlessness itself an evidence of the lack of home training? Surely it is worth while watching the manners of a child at home. If he regards the rights of others, if he considers his own act and its effects on others in the home, he may be trusted not to disgrace the manners of that home when he goes abroad.

The Visitors and the Schools

The recent Conference of the Public Education Associations held in Philadelphia is but one of the many evidences of the new conception of the relation between the home and the school, the teachers, the parents, the schools, and the citizen. The first need of the schools, in the consensus of opinion at this Conference, was an educated, active public sentiment based on knowledge of the schools. This knowledge depends wholly on an intimate relation between the teachers and the schools, on the part of those who, by tact and earnestness, command the respect of teachers and citizens. The school buildings, in the opinion of the visitors, were the first objects that deserved public attention. From every city represented at this Conference the report was the same: school buildings built without regard to light and ventilation—two evils that demand the best expert knowledge to reform; sanitary conditions that threaten alike the health and morals of the children. It was urged that physicians and sanitary experts become interested as citizens in the work of the organizations regarding the public schools.

It augurs well for the future of this country that the sanitary needs of our schools are receiving the attention of the public. The waste in education due to bad light and air is being emphasized, and the schools of the future will profit by the knowledge. Every city represented had the same story: lack of schools, overcrowded classes, hundreds of children in half-day classes or not attending school, with a compulsory school law that could not be enforced because the schools were overcrowded. More buildings, especially for the primary schools which are branches of grammar schools centrally located, are universal needs. The attendance of little children at school must be regulated by the distance between the home and the school.

The problem of maintaining a system of primary education that is preparatory to the high school—which but a small percentage of the total number of children enter—one that will give the essentials of education at fourteen, is difficult, but must be solved. There is demanded more flexibility in the primary grade; the giving of a vocabulary; opportunity to gain facility in reading; the developing of the creative faculty in work and play; opportunity for unconscious development in self-government through the medium of games, mental and physical, and drills that cultivate a knowledge of social relations and the interdependence of each on the other for definite results, especially for the children whose educational foundation must be laid between five and fourteen in our public schools—a foundation on which each must, unaided, build his future. These children and those to follow them make the problems of a democracy. Realizing this, it is natural that educational associations should focus attention on the primary schools.

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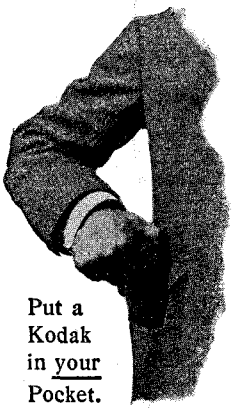

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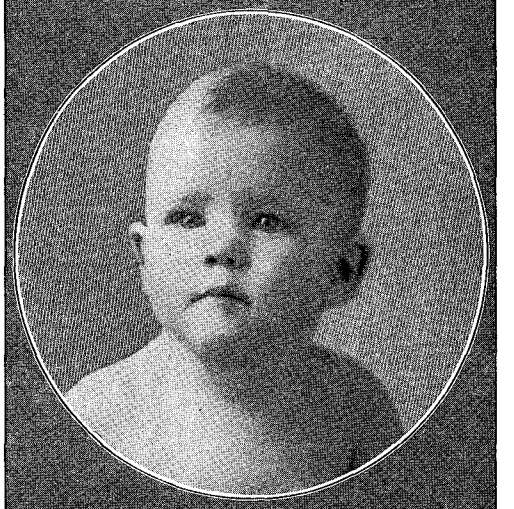

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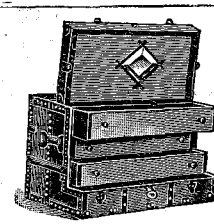

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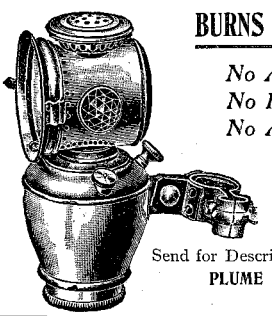

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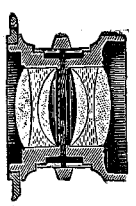

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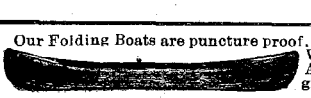

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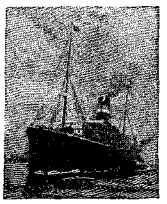

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